



NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL

MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA

THESIS

**THE URUGUAYAN ARMED FORCES AND THE
CHALLENGE OF 21ST CENTURY PEACEKEEPING
OPERATIONS**

by

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December 2005

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REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE			Form Approved OMB No. 0704-0188	
Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instruction, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden, to Washington headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington, VA 22202-4302, and to the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reduction Project (0704-0188) Washington DC 20503.				
1. AGENCY USE ONLY (Leave blank)		2. REPORT DATE December 2005	3. REPORT TYPE AND DATES COVERED Master's Thesis	
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE: The Uruguayan Armed Forces and the Challenge of 21 st Century Peacekeeping Operations			5. FUNDING NUMBERS	
6. AUTHOR(S) Eduardo Ulery				
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, CA 93943-5000			8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER	
9. SPONSORING /MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) N/A			10. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY REPORT NUMBER	
11. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES The views expressed in this thesis are those of the author and do not reflect the official policy or position of the Department of Defense or the U.S. Government.				
12a. DISTRIBUTION / AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Approved for public release; distribution is unlimited.			12b. DISTRIBUTION CODE	
13. ABSTRACT (maximum 200 words) <p>This thesis presents an analysis of the past and current political and military situation in Uruguay, and an assessment of the environment in the Southern Cone of Latin America in light of the current leftist regimes in power in that region. It also raises the question of whether or not to deploy troops in future UN Chapter VII peacekeeping operations. All countries in the Southern Cone of Latin America are involved in the current UN peacekeeping mission in Haiti. Resolving this debate is essential insofar as it might affect the region's traditional role as a peacekeeping troop "supplier."</p> <p>This thesis argues that Uruguay should commit its Armed Forces to a broader spectrum of peacekeeping missions, including UN Chapter VII operations. This is consistent with Uruguay's foreign policy principles of preventive diplomacy and peaceful resolution of controversies, and would not violate the principle of non-intervention as long as military intervention takes place for "humanitarian reasons." The current leftist government in Uruguay would also spread its ideal of international solidarity, and improve both the image of the country and domestic civil-military relations. The military would be able to train in a realistic conflict environment, upgrade its equipment and improve the economic well-being of its personnel.</p>				
14. SUBJECT TERMS Uruguay, Peacekeeping, Uruguayan Foreign Policy Principles, UN Chapter VI, UN Chapter VII, UN Refunds, Multilateralism, International Institutions, Solidarity, <i>Frente Amplio</i> , Democratic Republic of the Congo, DRC, Haiti, United Nations, Uruguayan Military, Southern Cone, South America, Latin America, Humanitarian Intervention, Civil-Military Relations			15. NUMBER OF PAGES 182	
			16. PRICE CODE	
17. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF REPORT Unclassified	18. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE Unclassified	19. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF ABSTRACT Unclassified	20. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT UL	

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**THE URUGUAYAN ARMED FORCES AND THE CHALLENGE OF 21ST
CENTURY PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS**

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
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**MASTER OF ARTS IN SECURITY STUDIES
(STABILIZATION AND RECONSTRUCTION)**

from the

**NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL
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ABSTRACT

Since Uruguay achieved its independence, it has been governed mostly by the *Partido Colorado* and a few times by the *Partido Nacional*, known together as the historical political parties. Both parties used the Armed Forces in support of the state's foreign policy. Since the Cold War, both parties have committed troops to UN Chapter VI peacekeeping operations as a means of improving the image of the country in the international arena. However, neither political party has taken a strong position on whether to commit troops under Chapter VII operations. They decide on a case-by-case basis, mainly by considering the military's interest in participating. In contrast, the leftist party *Frente Amplio* (Broad Front) believes that the use of force, allowed under Chapter VII operations, is against the principles of peaceful resolution of controversies and non-intervention.

This debate remains active insofar as the *Frente Amplio* took over the government in March 2005, and the country is still committed to two Chapter VII peacekeeping operations, the UN missions in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and Haiti. This thesis presents an analysis of the past and current political and military situation in Uruguay, and an assessment of the environment in the Southern Cone of Latin America in light of the current leftist regimes in power in that region. It also raises the question of whether or not to deploy troops in future UN Chapter VII peacekeeping operations. To address this debate is crucial insofar as all countries in the Southern Cone are involved in the current UN peacekeeping mission in Haiti. Resolving this debate is essential because it will clarify whether or not the region will be involved in future Chapter VII operations and how that might affect the region's traditional role as a peacekeeping troop "supplier."

This thesis argues that Uruguay should commit its Armed Forces to a broader spectrum of peacekeeping missions, including UN Chapter VII operations. This is consistent with Uruguay's foreign policy principles of preventive diplomacy and peaceful resolution of controversies, and would not violate the principle of non-intervention as long as military intervention takes place for "humanitarian reasons." Enhancing the involvement of Uruguayan troops in UN Chapter VII operations would be a strong sign

in support of international law and multilateral institutions, of which the UN is the major example. By committing Uruguayan troops to UN Chapter VII missions, the leftist government has a unique opportunity to “spread” its ideal of solidarity to countries that need assistance. Moreover, from the perspective of the Uruguayan military, the commitment of Uruguayan troops in Chapter VII operations has a number of advantages. It would allow the military to train in a realistic conflict environment, enable the military to upgrade its equipment and improve the economic well-being of military personnel. Furthermore, the commitment of troops to Chapter VII operations would improve the international image of the country and foster the development of stronger domestic civil-military relations.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I:	INTRODUCTION.....	1
II:	LANDMARKS AT THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL AND THE URUGUAYAN ARMED FORCES' ROLE EVOLUTION.....	17
A.	THE COLD WAR AND THE URUGUAYAN MILITARY DIVERSITY OF ROLES	17
B.	NEUTRALITY, THE WESTERN OPTION AND URUGUAY'S FREE RIDE ON THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL.....	20
C.	THE WESTERN OPTION AND THE HEMISPHERIC ALLIANCE AT THE REGIONAL LEVEL	23
D.	THE 1973 COUP, THE THIRD WAVE OF DEMOCRACY AND THE MILITARY LAISSEZ-FAIRE ON THE DOMESTIC/BUREAUCRATIC LEVEL	26
E.	SUMMARY	29
F.	POST COLD WAR TIMES AND URUGUAY'S PARTICIPATION IN THE INTERNATIONAL AGENDA.....	30
G.	THE NEW WORLD ORDER AND PEACEKEEPING AS A TOOL FOR INSERTING THE COUNTRY ON THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL	32
H.	NEOLIBERALISM AND THE PEACEKEEPING SUPPLIER ROLE ON THE REGIONAL LEVEL.....	37
I.	SUPPORT TO THE UN AND A NEW IMAGE FOR THE ARMY ON THE DOMESTIC/BUREAUCRATIC LEVEL	38
J.	SUMMARY	41
K.	POST SEPTEMBER 11, 2001, TIMES AND URUGUAY'S DEBATE ON FOREIGN AND NATIONAL DEFENSE POLICY.....	42
L.	THE WAR ON TERROR AND THE LOSS OF CONSENSUS IN URUGUAY ON PEACEKEEPING AT THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL	44
M.	THE RISE OF LEFTIST REGIMES: EXPLORING A PEACEKEEPING PARTNERSHIP ON THE REGIONAL LEVEL	48
N.	THE URUGUAYAN LEFTIST GOVERNMENT AND THE NEED FOR A NATIONAL DEBATE ON THE DOMESTIC/BUREAUCRATIC LEVEL	50
O.	SUMMARY	55
III:	ARMED FORCES IN THE LATIN AMERICAN SOUTHERN CONE - FROM CHECKERBOARD PIECES TO PEACEKEEPING PARTNERS?	57
A.	THE SOUTHERN CONE ANALYSIS.....	58
B.	COHERENT FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICIES.....	61
1.	Brazil	61
2.	Argentina	63

3.	Chile	66
4.	Uruguay	68
C.	APPROACH TO PEACEKEEPING	72
1.	Brazil	72
2.	Argentina	74
3.	Chile	77
4.	Uruguay	80
D.	OTHER REGIONAL APPROACHES.....	87
1.	Presidential Declarations.....	87
2.	Multinational Peacekeeping Exercises.....	89
3.	Ministers of Defense Meetings	93
E.	SUMMARY	95
IV:	REASONS WHY URUGUAY SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN UN CHAPTER VII PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS.....	105
A.	UN CHAPTER VII OPERATIONS, URUGUAYAN FOREIGN POLICY PRINCIPLES AND LEFTIST IDEALS	108
B.	UN CHAPTER VII OPERATIONS AND URUGUAYAN MILITARY NEEDS	116
1.	Training	116
2.	Re-equipment	120
3.	Welfare of Personnel and Other Externalities	125
C.	UN CHAPTER VII OPERATIONS, URUGUAY'S IMAGE IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA, THE DOMESTIC MILITARY IMAGE AND CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS.....	130
1.	International and Domestic Image.....	130
2.	Domestic Civil-Military Relations	133
D.	SUMMARY	137
V:	CONCLUSIONS	141
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	149
	INITIAL DISTRIBUTION LIST	165

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.	The Peacekeeping Arena and Its Levels of Analysis.....	6
Figure 2.	Desch's Threat Matrix. Civilian Control of the Military as a Function of Location and Intensity of Threats (Uruguay's assessment is highlighted) (From: Desch).	14
Figure 3.	Countries of the Southern Cone.....	58
Figure 4.	Phillip Kelly's Checkerboards (After: Kelly).	59
Figure 5.	Criteria for a Peacekeeping Partnership.....	61
Figure 6.	Main Objectives of the Foreign and Defense Policy.	72
Figure 7.	Approaches to Peacekeeping.	87
Figure 8.	Evolution in the Number of Military Exercises Carried Out with Foreign Forces (1993-2004). (Base=Argentina). (From: Centro de Estudios Nueva Mayoría).....	90
Figure 9.	Countries' Participation in Combined Exercises (1993-2004). (Base=Argentina). (From: Centro de Estudios Nueva Mayoría).	91
Figure 10.	Independent Agendas in the Southern Cone.....	100
Figure 11.	Assessing a Peacekeeping Partnership.....	101
Figure 12.	Desch's Threat Matrix. Civilian Control of the Military as a Function of Location and Intensity of Threats (Uruguay's assessment is highlighted) (From: Desch).	134

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This work was accomplished with the assistance of many people who collaborated with me with the sole interest of completing the study as thoroughly and consistently as possible. In this regard, I must express my feelings of gratitude to my advisors, who both accepted, without hesitation, the request to be my mentors. Professor Harold Trinkunas wisely oriented me throughout the process of writing my thesis proposal. He suggested how to approach my thesis topic so easily that I was able to outline the argument and its main points at the very beginning. He was instrumental on my decision to adopt the levels of analysis framework. Professor María Rasmussen has been an invaluable source of consultation, providing me with adequate bibliography, helping with translating citations, keeping an eye on my academic style of writing and arguments consistency, and meeting frequently to listen to my concerns. I remember when I asked her to be one of my advisors - I said I wanted her to advise me because I thought she would be extremely helpful. Her hard work and charm demonstrated that I was right. Professor Thomas Bruneau also deserves acknowledgement. His Latin American class allowed me to conduct extensive research for my thesis. My final paper, after being thoroughly corrected by him, became one of the thesis chapters.

The fact that my thesis topic is closely related to my homeland and the surrounding region required that I rely on research material, scholarship articles, documents and press news from Uruguay and the Southern Cone of Latin America. María del Rosario Rodríguez, a Notary Public from the Uruguayan Ministry of Defense, has been a most trustworthy and expeditious link with my country. She fulfilled almost every request I made concerning national defense and peacekeeping information gathering. In addition, Army Colonel Carlos Delgado, who attended a two-week seminar at the Naval Postgraduate School, personally brought a specific bibliography I asked him to bring from Uruguay. He also connected me with Army Colonel Gaspar Barrabino, an experienced peacekeeper who used to work at the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations and was appointed to the Army Coordination Center for Peacekeeping Operations. Colonel Barrabino provided me with insight on planning and

carrying out a peacekeeping mission. Thank you also to two friends, whose assistance was invaluable; Navy Lieutenant Commander Luis Moreira clarified the Uruguayan Navy's economic-financial viewpoint on increased participation in international peacekeeping, and Air Force Colonel Tydeo Avila extended enormous efforts to obtain a research paper I asked him to get from the Uruguayan High Level Studies Center.

I also want to thank three Uruguayan scholars: Juan Rial, Julián González and Lincoln Bizzozero. Rial actually lives in New York, works for the United Nations and runs an academic center. He provided me with updated information concerning international peacekeeping and gave me his insight about the importance of peacekeeping to the Uruguayan military and the country as a whole - past, present and future. González, having been a leftist military advisor, has had an opposing point of view compared to Rial's and allowed me the opportunity to investigate counter-arguments, always needed in serious research. Bizzozero shed light on the conventional wisdom regarding the Uruguayan foreign policy principles. These principles have traditionally been a matter of concern for different Uruguayan governments, although there is no official written record specifying exactly what these principles are and what they really mean. Through the study I referenced in this thesis, Bizzozero made it possible for me to understand and explain the origins and persistence of the Uruguayan foreign policy principles. Juan Rial, Julián González and Lincoln Bizzozero responded promptly to my requests and provided their insights, which I used as part of the backbone of my thesis. Their speed in addressing my concerns astonished me. I am deeply indebted to them for their assistance and expertise.

The theoretical peacekeeping concepts I unravel in this research come from what I have learned with Professors Karen Guttieri, Kenneth Dombroski and Nancy Roberts. Guttieri's stabilization and reconstruction class and seminar made me think about peacekeeping in a broader sense, which in fact constitutes part of my thesis argument. Dombroski's seminar on military operations other than war taught me a complete array of peacekeeping terminology and typology, which I thoroughly employed throughout my analysis. Roberts' class on networks allowed me to consider the variety of stakeholders I had to study when analyzing peacekeeping issues at the regional or the domestic level.

Karen Guttieri, Kenneth Dombroski and Nancy Roberts provided me with the theoretical background that made it easier for me to address my thesis topic and to add zing to my argument.

I eagerly want to express my endless gratitude to Barbara Young. She has been more than an English teacher. She counseled, advised and taught me how to be a successful student at the Naval Postgraduate School. She showed me how to write academic papers and encouraged me to be confident in my work. I was able to write this thesis in part because of the confidence that she inspired.

I also want to extend my regards to Professor Paul Pitman. He taught me how to write a thesis proposal. However, that is not what I want to thank him for. What touched me was how sincere and concerned he was when I asked him how to cope with so many school requirements, such as classes, readings, papers and my thesis. He responded quite frankly, suggested how to manage my time and finally, kept in touch with me for a while through e-mail, to ascertain how well or how poorly I was doing. It was a very kind and noble gesture.

Writing this thesis required me to use my basic computer skills. Nevertheless, when more advanced knowledge was needed or computer problems arose, only Philippine Navy Lieutenant Commander Eric Ramos, one of my curriculum classmates, was able to solve those problems, clean viruses or teach me how to deal with different programs and tools. I will always thank him for having done so.

I would also like to express my gratitude to the library staff, which had to put up with me every evening until closing. They were always willing to respond to my requests, especially Greta Marlatt, who found information of interest and also taught me how to improve my research skills.

Finally, I want recognize Ann Wells, my thesis editor/formatter. She really had to do hard work. As she liked to say, she “eyeballed” each paragraph with surgical care. Then, with astonishing speed, she sent me back the corrected drafts containing helpful suggestions. It was exciting to read her “OKs” followed by a “how about this” every time

I asked for her a suggestion to better express some of my arguments. I felt very comfortable working with her and she also inspired my confidence.

As I said, many people helped me or collaborated with me to get this job done. I am happy for having worked with all of them and to each I express my sincere gratitude.

I: INTRODUCTION

To love peace because we consider it wonderful and fecund. It is the nature of noble and strong peoples to love peace with the excellent willingness of those who are aware that in their strength lies their ultimate desire for peace.

José Enrique Rodó (Uruguayan essayist, writer, dramatist and philosopher 1872-1917).¹

Since Uruguay achieved its independence, it has been governed mostly by the *Partido Colorado* and a few times by the *Partido Nacional*, known together as the historical political parties. During their tenure, they used the Armed Forces in support of the state's foreign policy. After the Cold War, the military has increasingly been used to project the image of the country in the international arena. Both historical political parties have used the military in this manner by committing military forces to UN Chapter VI peacekeeping operations. However, a debate has lately arisen regarding sending troops to peace operations because UN peacekeeping missions have become more coercive. As a result, the most recent and important UN peacekeeping operations, such as the ones in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (hereafter DRC) and Haiti, were established under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. Chapter VII operations have traditionally been known as peace-enforcement operations. Today, UN Chapter VII missions include a variety of duties other than peace-enforcement; and Chapter VII operations often imply that peacekeeping troops are allowed to use force only when necessary to fulfill the UN mandate. The major political parties have not taken a strong position on whether or not to commit troops under Chapter VII operations. They decide on a case-by-case basis, mainly by considering the military's interest in participating.

On the other hand, when a discussion on whether or not to deploy Uruguayan troops to UN Chapter VII missions has arisen, the left has systematically opposed sending troops. The left in Uruguay believes that the use of force, allowed under Chapter VII operations, is against the principles of peaceful resolution of controversies and non-

¹ Translation is mine.

intervention. In addition, the left thinks that some peacekeeping operations, rather than being a tool for ensuring peace and international security, have been used to manage powerful countries' interests in certain regions. In this sense, a document prepared by the Defense Committee of the *Frente Amplio* (Broad Front–today's governing coalition) argues that the government should not be willing to deploy troops under Chapter VII.²

Because UN peacekeeping missions have evolved from Chapter VI to Chapter VII, the political debate in Uruguay regarding participation of its troops in Chapter VII peacekeeping operations remains active. This discussion now becomes more important insofar as the leftist *Frente Amplio* government took over in March 2005, and the country is still committed to two UN peacekeeping operations, the UN missions in the DRC and Haiti.

Consequently, the question arises: **should the Uruguayan Armed Forces be committed to UN Chapter VII peacekeeping operations?** This thesis argues that Uruguay should commit its Armed Forces to a broader spectrum of peacekeeping missions, including UN Chapter VII operations.

Broadening the Uruguayan participation in peacekeeping operations is consistent with the foreign policy principles of preventive diplomacy and peaceful resolution of controversies. Many of today's Chapter VII operations do not involve going to war. Instead they authorize a gradual use of force to fulfill the UN mandate. In addition, the *Brahimi Report* created the concept of "robust peacekeeping" in order to cope with violent groups which can sometimes undermine the peace process between parties in conflict. The main objective still is to prevent further violence and to ensure peaceful resolution of controversies.³

² "La Política Militar del Frente Amplio," *Uruguay, Frente Amplio y Fuerzas Armadas*, Red Globe, October 11, 2004, <http://64.233.187.104/search?q=cache:OFG3JT22FD4J:redglobe.de/modules.php%3Fname%3DNews%26file%3Dprint%26sid%3D3166++%22URUGUAY:+FRENTE+AMPLIO+Y+FUERZAS+ARMADAS%22&hl=en> (accessed May 12, 2005).

³ "Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations," *Brahimi Report*, (A/55/05-S/2000/809), United Nations, 21 August 2000, Paragraphs 48-64. <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N00/594/70/PDF/N0059470.pdf?OpenElement>.

By broadening Uruguayan participation in peacekeeping operations, the left-center government would collaborate in buttressing the role of regional blocs and multilateral institutions, of which the UN is the major example. Enhancing the involvement of Uruguayan troops in UN Chapter VII operations would be a strong sign in support of international law and institutions, and would also serve as evidence of the leftist government's opposition to the power-biased approach of the hegemons. By broadening the Uruguayan involvement in peacekeeping operations, the left-center government has a unique opportunity to "spread" its ideal of solidarity to countries that need assistance. The Uruguayan troops, raised amongst people who know what solidarity means, would be the best tool for projecting the state foreign policy under the leftist ideals.

The issue is that the participation of Uruguayan troops in Chapter VII operations would negatively affect the country's principle of non-intervention in other countries' domestic affairs. This principle, which has traditionally been embraced by Uruguay, has been one of the most important tenets of leftist foreign policy. Therefore, it would seem contrary to the leftist political discourse at international, regional or domestic levels for the current leftist government to commit Uruguayan troops to Chapter VII peacekeeping operations (whereby using force is allowed).⁴ However, the *Responsibility to Protect* approach outlines the moral basis for waiving the principle of non-intervention. This "new" approach is an international corpus of ideas by which foreign military intervention is "legal" and hopefully strictly regulated by the UN. Under this approach, foreign military intervention is authorized insofar as human rights atrocities are allowed by a state that is unwilling or unable to fulfill its obligation to protect its citizens from human rights violations.⁵

Moreover, the commitment of Uruguayan troops in Chapter VII operations has a number of advantages from the perspective of the Uruguayan military. It would allow the

⁴ "Nuevo Gobierno Participará en Operaciones de Paz," El Espectador, January 11, 2005, <http://www.onunet.org.uy/modules.php?op=modload&name=News&file=article&sid=543&mode=thread&order=0&thold=0> (accessed May 12, 2005).

⁵ International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, *The Responsibility to Protect*, December 2001, VII, <http://www.iciss.ca/report-en.asp> (accessed September 29, 2005).

military to train in a realistic conflict environment. Within the homeland, service members do not have the opportunity even to operate certain equipment because of domestic budget constraints. Additionally, the UN refunds the cost of military equipment employed during peacekeeping missions. This relieves much of the government's burden in regard to upgrading military equipment. Finally, a Uruguayan officer deployed in a UN peacekeeping mission earns ten times his usual military salary, so peacekeeping has an important effect on the financial and personal well-being of military personnel.⁶

Furthermore, to commit troops to Chapter VII operations would improve the international image of the country. Today, most UN operations are held under Chapter VII, and this will be the trend in the foreseeable future. The international community has seen Uruguay as a credible country, committed to important international affairs, such as peace and international security.⁷ In order to maintain and improve this image it is necessary for the country to commit troops to Chapter VII peacekeeping operations.

Moreover, if the current leftist government does not participate in UN Chapter VII missions, or worse, withdraws troops currently deployed under that Chapter, the military will probably blame the government for having deprived them of economic and professional benefits. That will have negative effects on civil-military relations. According to Michael Desch, by committing troops to peacekeeping missions the military remains "externally-oriented" in a realistic mission, and strong civil-military relations are the result.⁸

Considering the current political and military situation in Uruguay, this thesis proposes a policy for Uruguay's participation in peacekeeping operations that is:

1. Consistent with the Uruguayan traditional foreign policy principles of
 - a. Preventive Diplomacy
 - b. Peaceful Resolution of Controversies

⁶ "Nuevo Gobierno Participará...

⁷ Yamandú Sala, "Militares Uruguayos Representan el 44% que Aporta la Región a Misiones de Paz." Cooperación Portal Uruguay, February 9, 2005, <http://www.onunet.org.uy/modules.php?op=modload&name=News&file=article&sid=564> (accessed May 12, 2005).

⁸ Michael C. Desch, *Civilian Control of the Military, the Changing Security Environment* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 2001), 122.

2. Consistent with the current leftist government ideals of
 - a. Multilateralism
 - b. International solidarity
3. Consistent with military needs in terms of
 - a. Training and Re-equipment
 - b. Welfare of personnel
4. Essential to improve
 - a. The image of the country in the international arena
 - b. Domestic civil-military relations

The use of a level of analysis framework helps me disaggregate the causal variables that explain the role the Uruguayan Armed Forces have been performing either in support of the foreign policy or in projecting the image of the country in the international arena.⁹ In addition, the level of analysis framework allows me to assess the current political and military situation in light of upcoming peacekeeping operations on three levels: the international level, the regional level and the domestic/bureaucratic level. Figure 1 shows the interaction among the three levels, composing what can be called the “peacekeeping arena.”

⁹ Jack S. Levy, “Theories of Interstate and Intrastate War, a Levels-of-Analysis Approach,” in *Turbulent Peace* ed. Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler and Pamela Aall (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2003), 4.

PEACEKEEPING ARENA

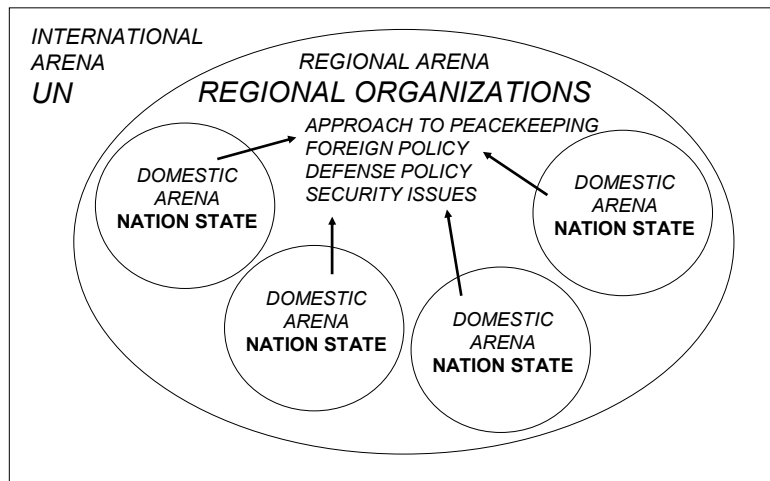


Figure 1. The Peacekeeping Arena and Its Levels of Analysis.

The international level constitutes the UN sphere of influence. As part of that international arena, regional organizations are major actors within their spheres of influence or regional arenas. Finally, regional organizations are composed of nation states, each managing its own issues in what is called the domestic arena. Each peacekeeping troop contributor state considers its own foreign and defense policies, its approach to peacekeeping and other security issues before committing troops to peacekeeping operations. Those considerations become the main variables that not only influence the behavior of the state concerning peacekeeping but also determine the involvement of regional organizations in peacekeeping missions.

Concerning the international level, this research uses three characteristic “stages” of the world to frame the analysis. These stages correspond to Cold War times, post-Cold War times and post-September 11, 2001, times. Each “stage” is characterized by a remarkable event, which in turn produced an effect or “trend” in the regional or domestic levels of analysis. The events are the World Bipolarity, the New World Order and the War on Terror. In this sense, this study identifies how variables from the international level influenced the regional and domestic levels of analysis, which in turn, affected the

foreign policy and the national defense policy processes. In this regard, the analysis shows how the role of the Uruguayan military has changed from traditional homeland defense to international peacekeeping, and why the current peacekeeping role is now under debate.

Concerning the regional level, the study concentrates on the present time (2005), when an ideological confluence in the Southern Cone of South America can be noted. Leftist governments are in power in that region, where countries created a regional trade agreement called MERCOSUR during the post-Cold War era. In addition, because the same countries have so regularly committed troops to UN peacekeeping operations, the region has become known as a “peacekeeping supplier.” Therefore, it is not unreasonable to think that MERCOSUR countries might deepen their commitment to the organization, broadening the scope of the treaty into other issues such as peacekeeping. At present, this is remarkable insofar as MERCOSUR members have been running the UN peacekeeping mission in Haiti. This thesis shows that despite the ideological confluence in the region, achieving a peacekeeping partnership seems very difficult. In this regard, it is evident that the Uruguayan government has most work to do in terms of establishing national defense and peacekeeping policies.

Concerning the domestic/bureaucratic level, this research presents an analysis of the current situation in Uruguay, where a leftist government took over the country in March 2005, winning more than 50% of the votes in the 2004 elections. The current government has questioned existing Uruguayan commitments to peacekeeping (DRC and Haiti), insofar as those operations were established under UN Chapter VII and have been more coercive than the operations in which Uruguayan troops were previously committed. Although the domestic arena obviously represents a unique level of analysis, this study often uses the dual expression “domestic/bureaucratic” level. This is because in Uruguay, inconsistencies can be noted between what politicians in general or the government in particular have been arguing about an issue, in this case about peacekeeping, and what the military has been doing. By the same token, lags can be seen between military doctrine and expectations and the political power’s policies regarding military missions and readiness. As a result, the actions taken by the Uruguayan military

(in this research identified as the bureaucratic level) have not been completely consistent with the desires of the political powers (in this case the legitimate representatives of the domestic level). Consequently, at the domestic/bureaucratic level, this study sheds light on the many issues related to Uruguayan participation in UN Chapter VII peacekeeping operations, such as foreign policy, the ideals of the current leftist government, the many advantages those operations represent for the military and the positive effects on the image of the country in both the international arena and domestic civil-military relations.

Chapter II focuses on the **international level**. It addresses the following question: **what made the Uruguayan military change its role throughout time up to the current peacekeeping role?** Causal variables from Cold War, post-Cold War and post-September 11, 2001, times are analyzed as cornerstones for the changing role of the Uruguayan military. The military's role has evolved from territorial defense to internal warfare against leftist groups and from hemispheric defense to international peacekeeping. In this regard, during the Cold War the only participation of Uruguayan troops overseas was in the non-UN Multinational Force in the Sinai Peninsula. The effects of international variables on the regional and domestic levels are also depicted. In this sense, the bipolar world caused Uruguay to align itself with the western "option," thus joining the Hemispheric Alliance. On the domestic level, governments of the historical political parties embraced liberal ideas, but with a strong presence of the state in the design of the economic agenda. This research shows how the Armed Forces played two main roles. On the one hand, they were committed to hemispheric defense, so they enhanced their participation in training and in international exercises led by the U.S. On the other hand, the military was used in fighting the leftist rebel movements that jeopardized democracy in Uruguay and its commitment to the western alliance. This ended in a dictatorship, where the military played a major role in the design of the political and economic agenda, and leftist parties were banned. As a result, at the end of this stage, the left systematically opposed any military participation in U.S.-led combined military exercises.

Concerning the post-Cold War era, the rise of the "New World Order" was the main event at the international level that caused the South American region and within it,

Uruguay, to embrace neoliberal ideas and regional agreements in the economic realm. Due to the rise of internal conflicts in many places, South America became a “supplier” of peacekeeping troops. The effects at the regional level show a trend away from the traditional U.S.-led maneuvers towards multinational peacekeeping exercises between regional partners under UN standards. Concerning effects of the New World Order at the domestic level, this stage was characterized by a systematic leftist opposition to U.S.-led combined military exercises. Further, this study explains how historical political parties in Uruguay saw this time as a window of opportunity to project (in practice) the traditional foreign policy of preventive diplomacy and peaceful resolution of controversies. In this case, the left supported the deployment of troops for accomplishing peacekeeping missions. Finally, this thesis shows how this trend allowed the Uruguayan Army to use peacekeeping operations as a window of opportunity to develop its own doctrine on that issue.

Regarding the post-September 11, 2001, era, the “war on terror” and the U.S. “interventions” in the Middle East were the main events at the international level. South America rejected the U.S. response to the events of September 11 and declined to go along with and support the U.S.-led “interventions.” Although not related to the war on terror, at the regional level the post-September 11, 2001, times were marked by the failure of the neoliberal economic model and the rise of leftist regimes in South America. This research argues that, on the domestic level, leftist governments seem prone to adopting a regional approach in regard to peacekeeping operations. In addition, this analysis presents the Uruguayan leftist government’s position on whether or not the Uruguayan Armed Forces should be deployed to UN Chapter VII peacekeeping operations in light of their current commitments in the DRC and Haiti. This debate, which will also cover many other aspects of national defense policy, could be seen as the end of military “laissez-faire.” This expression means that the military has gotten accustomed to designing their doctrine and missions with no guidance from the political power. This thesis shows the possible effects of this debate on Uruguayan civil-military relations.

Chapter III deals with the **regional level** at the present time (2005). It addresses the ideological confluence in the Southern Cone and the countries' commitment to the current UN Chapter VII mission in Haiti. The issue is to explore whether or not conditions exist for the creation of a regional force or regional standards for participation in peacekeeping. This Chapter addresses the following question: **does the rise of leftist regimes in the Southern Cone of Latin America create conditions for a peacekeeping partnership?** The work depicts the historically competitive nature of multilateral relations among the Southern Cone countries and the importance geopolitics played in shaping those relations. The study includes an analysis of the situation in the ABC countries (named after Argentina, Brazil and Chile), in addition to a study of the Uruguayan situation. Competition among these countries seems to have ended and collaboration is what prevails. However, to create a regional force or establish regional standards for peacekeeping seems to be difficult. In order to explore a regional peacekeeping partnership, several different variables are analyzed for each country, including the existence of coherent foreign and defense policies, the country's approach to peacekeeping and regional security issues. The analysis shows divergence and different interests can be noted when analyzing the majority of those variables. Therefore, ideological confluence in the region may be a necessary but insufficient condition for a peacekeeping partnership. Finally, the chapter concludes that Uruguay, although the country in the Southern Cone that is most committed to UN peacekeeping, is also the country which has the most work to do in the design of a peacekeeping policy.

Chapter IV focuses on the **domestic/bureaucratic level** and states the argument, in which it is recommended that the current leftist government in Uruguay broaden participation of the military in peacekeeping operations to include UN Chapter VII missions. This Chapter deals with the main thesis question, although in doing so, it also addresses the following question: **how consistent are Chapter VII peacekeeping operations with the current political and military situation in Uruguay?** In order to respond to this question, this study considers two UN documents: *An Agenda for Peace* and the *Brahimi Report*. These documents provided details on the current peacekeeping trend. According to this trend, by broadening the participation of the military in Chapter

VII peacekeeping missions, the Uruguayan leftist government would improve the image of the country in the international arena without violating the traditional foreign policy principles of preventive diplomacy and peaceful resolution of conflicts. In regard to the traditional principle of non-intervention, which has also been a leftist paradigm, a study on the *Responsibility to Protect* approach helps clarify how that principle has evolved in favor of protecting human rights, another leftist concern. The bottom line is that participating in Chapter VII peacekeeping operations is totally consistent with Uruguayan foreign policy principles and with the current leftist government's concerns.

Furthermore, by broadening the Uruguayan commitment in peacekeeping to include Chapter VII missions, the government would also support its ideals of multilateralism and international solidarity. This thesis discusses the current Uruguayan leftist president's speeches at the UN and other fora in order to show the importance the government places on the UN as a worldwide multilateral institution. But the Chapter also demonstrates that to support the UN peacekeeping role would require participating in Chapter VII operations. This research also deals with the ideal of solidarity. In this sense, references from the president and other governmental authorities' speeches reflect consistency between their expressions and the *Responsibility to Protect* approach when dealing with human rights protection. This approach provides for the right of military intervention under UN oversight when atrocities against human beings are committed or allowed by a state. To intervene on behalf of preventing ethnic cleansing or genocide might require a UN Security Council Chapter VII resolution.

Moreover, the chapter shows that by broadening Uruguayan participation in peacekeeping to include UN Chapter VII missions, the military benefits from better training, re-equipment and improved welfare of military personnel. Academic papers, mainly from the Army, demonstrate how important peacekeeping has been in improving training and acquiring experience. The knowledge gained through participation in peacekeeping missions has been transferred to other Army personnel and has been reflected in the readiness of the organic Army units during peacetime. The Navy's evaluation of its participation in peacekeeping missions has also been positive. In this sense, the Navy has consolidated some of its existent skills and has incorporated new

ones. But most important, the Navy has valued the improvement of military jointness. The Air Force, albeit with less participation, considers peacekeeping essential for its pilot's training in light of the current and significant domestic budget constraints. Quotations from the three heads of the military services in Uruguay are used in this Chapter to bolster the preceding argument. The issue is that because Chapter VI operations have become unlikely and Chapter VII operations are currently ongoing and predicted for the future, refusal to participate in Chapter VII missions would deprive the Uruguayan Armed Forces of their most important source of training.

Military re-equipment deserves a similar analysis. Again, Army academic papers demonstrate the importance of the refunds made by the UN in exchange for peacekeeping deployments. A Navy document also bolsters the same argument. Two counter-arguments are presented. One comes from the same Army references and deals with the protracted lag between Uruguayan military expenditures and receipt of refunds from the UN. This situation has complicated the financial management of the services, but at the end of the day, the UN has made the agreed upon refunds. The other counter-argument comes from a leftist military advisor, who argues that the cost of a peacekeeping operation is higher than believed, especially when other "collateral" costs are considered, such as special medical care and complementary salaries (which also imply additional social security savings).

On the other hand, the Chapter shows that recent UN refunds have equaled one third of the official budget, which for the Uruguayan military is a large sum of money. Besides, peacekeeping has allowed the military to incorporate specific material for specific duties, which have become an integral part of the military's permanent assets upon mission completion. In this regard, had the military not deployed in peacekeeping missions, that equipment would never have been purchased by the Uruguayan government. Again, if Uruguay does not participate in Chapter VII operations, the possibility of incorporating additional assets will completely disappear.

Additionally, the welfare of military personnel improved as a result of participation in peacekeeping. Evidence shows that military personnel have been able to improve their social condition, for example concerning housing and debt cancellation.

Indicators like the increasing number of volunteers for peacekeeping, even for the most dangerous (better paid) operations, bolster this argument. The dark side regarding personnel issues is that Chapter VII operations might involve a larger number of casualties. In response, this thesis refers to Army officers' opinions and data whereby casualties among the Uruguayan contingents have been uncommon, and where former Chapter VI operations sometimes involved dangers similar to those experienced during current Chapter VII Uruguayan deployments. Besides, evidence demonstrates that traffic accidents have been the major cause of casualties during peacekeeping operations. Then, this study explains that despite the important involvement of Uruguay in peacekeeping, no diplomatic ties have been created between Uruguay and post-conflict countries. This is an issue Uruguay should improve in further commitments, which will probably be set up under Chapter VII.

Finally, this thesis argues that by broadening the Uruguayan participation in peacekeeping to include UN Chapter VII missions, the government would improve the country's image in the international arena and consolidate its power due to the improvement in civil-military relations. By the same token, this research argues that the military would improve its domestic image. Quotations from the Uruguayan Army Commander in Chief support this last argument. Speaking at the 194th Army anniversary ceremony in May 2005, the head of the Uruguayan Army highlighted how important for the Army it is to meet the requirements of the civil society it serves. Concerning the international image, a counter-argument is presented whereby foreign media criticized the Uruguayan Army peacekeepers deployed in Eastern DRC for its failure to use force in violent situations. This study explains that this happened because those Army peacekeeping units were not given the proper mandate, due to the inconsistencies within the domestic/bureaucratic level. Failure to provide adequate rules of engagement explaining when and how to use force posed Army peacekeepers in Eastern DRC with the dilemma of whether to follow the Uruguayan government guidelines or fulfill the UN mandate. Protracted political discussions on Uruguayan participation in ongoing peacekeeping operations translated into ambiguous mandates that undermined the efficient response of the Army in the field. However, a quotation from the DRC Force

Commander concerning the Uruguayan Army and Navy performance shows the opposite. That commander expressed his confidence in the Uruguayan troops. Again, the main point of discussion in Uruguay has been whether or not to deploy under Chapter VII. As it was said, future peacekeeping missions will be established under Chapter VII: in order to maintain “prestige,” Uruguay should address this issue once and for all and commit its troops in UN Chapter VII peacekeeping operations.

Concerning the military’s domestic image and the improvement of civil-military relations, this research comments on Desch’s “threat matrix.” This matrix makes it possible to assess civil-military relations based on the type of threat a country faces.¹⁰

		External Threats	
		High	Low
Internal Threats	High	Poor	Worst
	Low	Good	Mixed

Figure 2. Desch’s Threat Matrix. Civilian Control of the Military as a Function of Location and Intensity of Threats (Uruguay’s assessment is highlighted) (From: Desch).

An analysis of that matrix shows that the Uruguayan low internal-low external threat typology causes mixed (uneven) civil-military relations. In cases like that, countries should favor peacekeeping operations as a military role in order to improve civil-military relations.¹¹ This Chapter also refers to Moskos, et al.’s military postmodernism, in which peacekeeping (sponsored by the UN) and humanitarian intervention (as argued in the *Responsibility to Protect* approach) constitute interesting options for today’s military.¹² This study also shows that the Uruguayan Army seems to

¹⁰ Desch, 14.

¹¹ Ibid., 122.

¹² Charles C. Moskos, John Allen Williams and David R. Segal, “Armed Forces After the Cold War,” in *The Postmodern Military* ed. Charles C. Moskos, John Allen Williams and David R. Segal (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1.

require being considered by the government as a postmodern institution. According to Moskos, et al., postmodern military reflects the evolution of the western democracies' military organization after the Cold War.¹³ The authors argue that postmodern military "undergoes a loosening of the ties with the nation-state."¹⁴ A counter-argument is presented by a leftist military advisor, who argues that those "new" roles (I would add postmodern roles) denaturalize the essential role of homeland defense and undermine domestic military readiness.

Finally, this thesis explains how the leftist government is now responsible for taking the initiative concerning military deployments and what is expected in light of the still pending and promised debate on national defense and security issues. Among those issues is whether or not the Uruguayan military should be committed to UN Chapter VII peacekeeping operations. In this regard, this analysis shows how this debate has been delayed, in part, because the leftist government has lately been dealing with the issue of the "disappeared people." This is an issue that happened during the thirteen years of dictatorship (1973-1985) and which the left promised to address during its political campaign for the 2004 elections.

Two facts give me hope in the forthcoming domestic debate on peacekeeping. One is that the current leftist government recently asked parliament to authorize participation by the Navy in the 2005 U.S.-led UNITAS operation. The other fact is that the majority of the leftist members of parliament gave their favorable votes on that account. Both facts make it reasonable to expect that the discussion about the participation of the Uruguayan military in UN Chapter VII missions will finally take place in the near future. They also make it possible to look forward to a favorable outcome on authorizing the commitment of Uruguayan Armed Forces to UN Chapter VII peacekeeping operations.

Chapter V is the concluding chapter which contains a summary of the findings and recommendations. The Chapter argues that at the international level peacekeeping has become more coercive and the trend shows increased UN Chapter VII missions

¹³ Moskos et al., 1.

¹⁴ Ibid.

instead of Chapter VI. At the regional level, the trend in the Southern Cone of Latin America shows the rise of leftist regimes in power. However, this has not yet provided grounded basis for a peacekeeping partnership due to differences regarding other topics among the Southern Cone countries. On the domestic/bureaucratic level, peacekeeping has become a major role for the Uruguayan military. In this regard, the Uruguayan leftist government promised a debate on national defense policy in order to discuss (among other issues) whether or not the military should be committed to UN Chapter VII peacekeeping operations. The chapter concludes that based on the international and regional levels trend concerning peacekeeping, Uruguay should broaden its participation in peacekeeping to include UN Chapter VII peacekeeping operations. This would not violate the Uruguayan foreign policy principles. On the contrary it would promote the leftist ideals of multilateralism and international solidarity. At the domestic level, to have the military deployed in peacekeeping, which means to participate in Chapter VII operations, would improve the image the Uruguayan civil society has of the military and civil-military relations would benefit. From the military viewpoint, continued participation in peacekeeping positively affects the training, re-equipment and personnel's welfare. For Uruguay as a whole, by broadening the Uruguayan participation in peacekeeping including Chapter VII missions, the government would insert the country in the real world.

II: LANDMARKS AT THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL AND THE URUGUAYAN ARMED FORCES' ROLE EVOLUTION

In order to isolate and outline the causal variables at the international level that made the Uruguayan Armed Forces adopt different roles in the modern era, three “stages” of the world political development must be analyzed. These stages correspond to Cold War, post-Cold War and post-September 11, 2001, times. Each “stage” is characterized by a remarkable event. The events are the World Bipolarity, the New World Order and the War on Terror. At the international level, these events produced an effect or “trend” on the regional and domestic levels of analysis, which, resulted in a turning point for the role of the Uruguayan Armed Forces. **What made the Uruguayan military change its role throughout time up to the current peacekeeping role?** This Chapter analyzes how those international events influenced the political environment in Uruguay, causing the military to adopt changing roles. I will show that during the Cold War, the roles of the Uruguayan military ranged from homeland defense and border protection to ensuring a western lifestyle and fighting leftist armed groups; from protecting the hemisphere against external aggression to peacekeeping overseas. Then, with the rise of the New World Order, the Uruguayan military became increasingly involved in international peacekeeping, to such an extent that Uruguay became known as a “peacekeeping-troop supplier.” Finally, I will show why, after September 11, 2001, Uruguay’s peacekeeper role has generated a domestic political debate.

A. THE COLD WAR AND THE URUGUAYAN MILITARY DIVERSITY OF ROLES

The dictatorship was sown by two things: we were victims of a Cold War in which some stimulated the guerrillas and others stimulated coups d’état; but there were faults on both sides. Guerrillas existed and coups d’état occurred under the pretext of fighting the guerrillas. In the meantime, the country’s large democratic majorities remained prisoners of this terrible game.

Julio María Sanguinetti (President of Uruguay 1985-1989; 1995-1999),
August 28, 2005.¹⁵

¹⁵ Semanario *Búsqueda* Sección Política, August 24, 2005. Also Diario *El País* Sección Nacional August 20, 2005. Translation is mine.

In Uruguay, the issue has always been how to make the Armed Forces behave in a manner consistent with the foreign policy principles of the country. These principles have evolved as a result of the lengthy process of state formation. What today is Uruguay was once a disputed land between Spain and Portugal in colonial times. Once the country became independent, its land then became the subject of dispute between Argentina and Brazil. As a result, Uruguay began to reject the idea of foreign intervention in its domestic affairs.

Nonetheless, this did not impede the regionalization of domestic political disputes, which forced Uruguay to become involved in regional struggles. When political parties finally separated domestic politics from the regional context by the end of the nineteenth century, the state formation process was almost complete. Uruguay began interacting with the international community as a homogeneous sovereign state, embracing the principles of non-intervention and self-determination.¹⁶

Furthermore, as a small country and a member of the United Nations (UN) from the very beginning, Uruguay has long been committed to the preservation of international peace and security. Its traditional position of non-intervention in other states' domestic affairs and self-determination was broadened when Uruguay adopted the UN principles of preventive diplomacy and peaceful resolution of controversies among states.¹⁷ Uruguay has projected these principles abroad by closely observing international law and by supporting international institutions that work to ensure peace, cooperation and security among states.¹⁸ The text of the Uruguayan "law of the land" fully supports this argument, "Article 6.- When celebrating international treaties the Republic shall propose

¹⁶ Lincoln Bizzozero, "Uruguayan Foreign Policies in the 1990s: Continuities and Changes with a View to Recent Regionalisms" in *National Perspectives on the New Regionalism in the South*, ed. Björn Hettne, András Inotai and Osvaldo Sunkel (Helsinki, London: United Nations University, World Institute for Development Economics Research, St. Martin's Press, 2000), 177-198.

¹⁷ Ministerio de Defensa Nacional de la República Oriental del Uruguay, "La Defensa Nacional, Aportes para un Debate," 30. <http://www.mdn.gub.uy/paginas/libro.asp>. (accessed August 15, 2005). Also "UN Charter," United Nations, Art. 1, <http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/chapter1.htm>.

¹⁸ Ibid.

a clause whereby all differences among contracting parties shall be resolved by arbitration or other peaceful means....”¹⁹

Moreover, adherence to the UN Charter has also implied respect for the coercive measures provided in that Charter, insofar as a violation of UN principles has occurred. When the UN first operated its collective security system in 1950 at the onset of the Korean War, Uruguay expressed its support for the three Security Council Resolutions that dealt with that issue.²⁰ First, Uruguay recognized that a breach of the peace had occurred; second, it agreed with the restoration of international peace and security through military measures; and third, it approved the creation of a multinational force under the command of the United States (U.S.).²¹

Furthermore, in order to prevent the Security Council from becoming locked by the Soviet Union’s (USSR) veto, the U.S. promoted a mechanism for the General Assembly to be involved in future decisions regarding peace and international security. The result was *General Assembly Resolution 377 (V)*, known as *United for Peace*. The text of this Resolution was prepared by a group of seven countries, including Uruguay.²² This document also established a Peace Observation Commission

...which could observe and report on the situation in any area where exists international tension the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.²³

Uruguay was one of the original fourteen members of this Commission.²⁴ It is remarkable that the General Assembly, through this document, also approved by Uruguay, resolved that it had the duty to consider “...the use of armed force when

¹⁹ Poder Legislativo de la República Oriental del Uruguay, “Constitución de la República Oriental del Uruguay,” Art. 6. <http://www.parlamento.gub.uy/palacio3/index.htm>. Translation is mine.

²⁰ “UN Security Council Resolutions 83, 84, 85,” 1950, United Nations, <http://www.un.org/documents/sc/res/1950/scres50.htm>.

²¹ “UN Uruguay Documents S/1516, S/1569, S/1666,” The Permanent Mission of the Republic of Korea to the United Nations, <http://www.un.int/korea/sc.html>.

²² “UN General Assembly Resolution 377 (V),” United Nations, <http://www.un.int/korea/sc.html>.

²³ “UN General Assembly Resolution 377 (V),” United Nations, B 3, <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NRO/059/75/IMG/NR005975.pdf?OpenElement>.

²⁴ Ibid.

necessary, to maintain or restore international peace and security.”²⁵ So, at the onset of the Cold War, Uruguay began demonstrating its commitment to peace and international security and its support for the mechanisms needed to prevent and solve future conflicts.

However, this clear course of action was not followed by consistent defense policies. The military in Uruguay performed varied and changing roles during the Cold War. From homeland defense and border protection to ensuring a western lifestyle and fighting leftist armed groups: from protecting the hemisphere against external aggression to peacekeeping overseas. **In this regard, what caused the Uruguayan Armed Forces to perform disparate roles under the context of the Cold War?**

In the following paragraphs, I will attempt to identify the independent variables which caused Uruguayan governments to make political decisions, which in turn, affected the roles, composition, training and readiness of the Uruguayan Armed Forces. We will see that the Cold War forced Uruguay to side with the western bloc. In so doing, Uruguay fell under the protective umbrella of the U.S. at the international level. At the regional level, the Uruguayan military operated under the framework of the hemispheric alliance. This framework also caused the military to fight against violent leftist groups, which might have undermined the strength of the western bloc in the region. Finally, we will cover the rise and fall of the dictatorship and Uruguayan participation in the Sinai Peninsula multinational force. The country’s participation in the Sinai mission is notable because, while Uruguay has long standing tradition of supporting peacekeeping missions, the Sinai Peninsula mission was the first time Uruguay sent troops.

B. NEUTRALITY, THE WESTERN OPTION AND URUGUAY’S FREE RIDE ON THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL

During the Cold War, the Uruguayan military was committed to the preservation of the values, beliefs and lifestyle the country embraced. In this sense, after World War II, Uruguay was a mix of a capitalistic and social welfare state.²⁶ This allowed the country to maintain friendly relationships with both West and East. However, although Uruguay carefully managed its foreign relations based on the paradigm of neutrality, its

²⁵ “UN General Assembly Resolution 377 (V),” United Nations,, A 1.

²⁶ Fernando Lopez-Alves, *State Formation and Democracy in Latin America, 1810-1900* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2000), 50.

“western-like” culture made Uruguayan polity and society sympathize with the western viewpoint. In addition, the country’s geographical location fell under the U.S.’ sphere of influence. As a result, the Uruguayan Armed Forces established close links with the U.S. military. U.S. equipment and training under U.S. standards were common in the Uruguayan military in those times. The bottom line was that Uruguay, by embracing the standards of the western bloc, received a free ride in the stable bipolar world under the umbrella of the U.S.

In this context, as an advocate of peace and conscious of its limited power, Uruguay avoided committing troops in foreign conflicts. As a small country, Uruguay’s main argument in defense of its sovereignty was the observance of international law. By taking such a position, the country eschewed aggression towards others and preserved self-determination. To respect international law and avoid aggression, albeit traditional, was essential for Uruguay in those times in light of the intricate South American geopolitics. The regional environment was characterized by disputed frontiers, boundary protection and expansion.²⁷ This landscape accounted for what Phillip Kelly calls “checkerboards.” Checkerboards were multipolar balance of power systems, by which powerful states in South America aligned against their immediate neighbors.²⁸ They operated under the concept of “my neighbor is my enemy, but my neighbor’s neighbor is my friend.”²⁹ So, while homeland defense was the traditional role of any military in those times, the South American geopolitical context caused the Uruguayan military to consider the preservation of the nation’s sovereignty and territory a major concern.³⁰

During the eighties, Uruguay strengthened its alignment with the western world’s standards, especially in economics.³¹ In addition, Uruguay’s historical neutrality and commitment to peace and international security paved the way for an unexpected

²⁷ Phillip Kelly, *Checkerboards & Shatterbelts, The Geopolitics of South America* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1997), 6.

²⁸ Ibid., 36-37.

²⁹ Ibid., vii.

³⁰ Rut Diamint, “The Military,” in *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*, ed. Jorge I. Domínguez and Michael Shifter (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, Second Edition, 2003), 68.

³¹ Bizzozero, 177-198.

outcome. In 1981, the U.S. invited Uruguay to join the Multinational Force of Observers (MFO) to be deployed to the Sinai Peninsula. Although Uruguay had already committed military observers to foreign post-conflict environments, such as Chaco Boreal (South America, 1935) and Kashmir (Asia, 1952), the MFO represented the first opportunity for the country to send troops overseas.³² Because the disputing states consented to the mission and to the deployment of troops, MFO fit perfectly with Uruguay's foreign policy principles. Uruguay's participation could not be construed as "intervention" or against "self-determination."

On that occasion, as a sign of weak cross-boundary coordination and military "laissez-faire,"³³ the preliminary contacts were carried out directly by the Commander in Chief of the Army.³⁴ Once a principle of agreement was reached, the final draft was negotiated by representatives of the Army and the Foreign Affairs Ministry.³⁵ Accordingly, since 1982, Uruguay has uninterruptedly integrated the MFO with an Army Special Group composed of a transportation platoon and an Army engineer's platoon.³⁶

In light of the preceding analysis, we can say that during the Cold War three independent variables, foreign policy principles, the inhibition to project power and the preservation of territorial sovereignty, caused the almost nonexistent participation of Uruguayan troops on the international level. Instead, the military was consigned to national defense as its primary role, with the sole exception of its participation in MFO.

³² Ejército Nacional, *Ejército Nacional - Misiones de Paz – 1935-2002*, (Montevideo: Comando General del Ejército, 2002), 75, http://www.ejercito.mil.uy/dimope/es_ES/libro1/MISIONES%20DE%PAZ.pdf.

³³ In fact, at that time, Uruguay was ruled by a military dictatorship.

³⁴ Ejército Nacional, 75. It must be clarified that in Uruguay, each of the armed services' head is appointed as "Commander in Chief." This position is equivalent to what in other countries such as Argentina or the U.S. is known as "Chief of Staff." In Uruguay, the Constitution provides that the President of the Republic exerts the overall command (note that text does not say he is the "commander in chief") of the Armed Forces acting along with the Minister of Defense or Council of Ministers. Thus, each of the services' commander in chief is under the president and the minister's authority. It would have been misleading in this paper to call the Uruguayan Army, Navy or Air Force Commander in Chief as "Chief of Staff," because in the Uruguayan military, each service has its own staff, an advisory organization under the commander in chief's command, headed by a flag officer called "Chief of Staff."

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid., 80.

C. THE WESTERN OPTION AND THE HEMISPHERIC ALLIANCE AT THE REGIONAL LEVEL

Uruguay's alignment with the "western option" and the inevitable influence of the U.S. throughout the region caused Uruguay to become part of the "hemispheric alliance." The 1947 Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (Rio Treaty) created the framework within which the armed forces of all Americas committed to the collective defense of any country of the Americas, insofar as a non-American country carried out an armed attack against any of the American countries.³⁷ As we know, during the Cold War, the enemy of the U.S. was the USSR. Consequently, in addition to considering defense of the homeland, the influence of the continental hegemon caused South American states to develop their military strategies and resources in accordance with U.S. interests.

Geopolitically, the region was characterized as "shatterbelt," an expression used to describe a place where outside rivalries (U.S. vs. USSR) tie into local contentions.³⁸ In that sense, with the assistance of the U.S., the South American military incorporated U.S. materiel. Often, this material did not meet the countries' real needs for homeland defense. Because South American countries fell under the protective "umbrella" of the U.S., their armed forces learned how to be part of a huge U.S. containment mechanism against Soviet expansion. Instead of developing continental collective defense tactics, the various South American countries participated in a continuum of military exercises (principally among navies),³⁹ by which everyone developed professional skills related to an eventual support of U.S. forces committed abroad against the USSR and its allies.

³⁷ "Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (Rio Treaty)," 1947, Organization of American States, Art. 3, <http://www.oas.org/main/main.asp?sLang=E&sLink=../documents/eng/documents.asp>.

³⁸ Kelly, vii.

³⁹ The U.S. Navy-led UNITAS Operation is the biggest regional military exercise. Since its creation in 1959, a U.S. Navy task force has joined Latin American navies every year. With almost no interruption (sometimes exercises were cancelled due to budget constraints or political issues) UNITAS Operation has been executed in phases, one phase for each host country. During the Cold War, exercises mostly consisted in convoy-escort maneuvers, anti-submarine, anti-air warfare, and amphibious operations. As can be seen, exercises followed a WWII-style, where those naval operations were necessary to support the war effort overseas.

This trend also accounted for many sub-regional multinational military operations during the seventies and eighties (again, principally among navies).⁴⁰ Regional interoperability began improving. In addition, regional exercises and domestic garrison training were similar to the training led by the U.S. The training and exercises also incorporated U.S. “allied publications.” Therefore, South American armed forces, mostly the navies, trained in fighting what I would call “small scale great power wars.” Yet the likelihood of Uruguay fighting a war overseas was extremely low.

Despite increasing regional interoperability, there was no specific policy in Uruguay designed to cope with the dichotomy of “national defense/hemispheric alliance requirements.” In those times, following U.S. military doctrine was common. At the regional level, that meant the priority was the efficiency of the hemispheric alliance. However, U.S.-made military equipment and doctrine was not always consistent with Uruguayan national defense requirements. For example, the Uruguayan Navy began taking more seriously their responsibility for the surveillance of territorial waters. For this task, neither former U.S. World War II ships nor “convoy protection” tactics were the best tools. Another issue was to question whether or not the Navy was capable of contributing to homeland defense. At that time, Uruguayan Navy ships and tactics were more suitable for “blue waters” operations (oceanic) than to “green/brown waters” operations (riverine and coastal) This is important because riverine and coastal operations are required for successful homeland defense. Likewise, the Army began questioning whether or not its conventional warfare tactics were adequate for defending the territory. In those times, the possibility of an invasion from neighboring Brazil was the main external threat.⁴¹ Any retrograde operation seemed futile because the Uruguayan land lacks important natural obstacles. In the absence of any true guidance from the

⁴⁰ For example, the Navies of Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay scheduled bilateral and trilateral exercises every year, known as “Cimarrón,” with Argentina and “Fraterno,” with Brazil during the seventies and “Amigo” with Brazil during the eighties.

⁴¹ In July 1971, a Brazilian plan to invade Uruguay was revealed by the Uruguayan media. Its code name was “Operación 30 Horas” (Operation 30 Hours), because that was the time the Brazilian military calculated it would take to control the Uruguayan territory. The plan was designed in the event the new leftist political party called *Frente Amplio* (Broad Front) won the 1971 Uruguayan elections. That operation was planned in the context of the increasing fighting against leftist violent groups in the region. But, it demonstrates how vulnerable Uruguay was in that geopolitical environment, <http://uruguay.indymedia.org/mail.php?id=15257>.

government, military officers became *de facto* “policymakers.” Devoted practitioners of geopolitics, a permanent analysis of the regional map allowed them to predict sources of conflict or cooperation.⁴² Because of the influence of geopolitics and the duty to serve the country, the military came to see the survival of the state as its “raison d’etre.”⁴³

The commitment to the survival of the state and to the hemispheric alliance caused the military in Uruguay and other South American countries to fight against the violent leftist movements which arose in the late sixties, following the successful Cuban revolution. Those movements were seen as threats; on the one hand, to the survival of the state, at least regarding the so called “Uruguayan way of life;” and on the other hand, to the ideological homogeneity of the hemispheric alliance. Then, the emergence of U.S.-USSR proxy wars on the continent led to the National Security Doctrine, which was sponsored by the U.S. and used by the Latin American military. This was the beginning of the involvement of Uruguayan Armed Forces in internal security issues.

Therefore, two independent variables, geopolitical ideas and commitment to the hemispheric alliance, caused the military in South America and within it, Uruguay, to be used in the fight against violent leftist movements and to train in overseas conventional warfare. In some cases, this occurred under the provisions of democratic governments, as happened in Uruguay. In other cases, military dictatorships were already ruling the country, as in the case of Paraguay. In any case, by fighting those leftist movements, I argue that governments used the armed forces to demonstrate their commitment to the ideology of the western bloc, represented in the region by the hemispheric alliance.

Finally, in defense of the UNITAS and the sub-regional operations, it must be said that once the Cold War became even “colder,”⁴⁴ South American navies “upgraded” their traditional exercises to fulfill each country’s training requirements. In the late stages

⁴² Kelly, 16.

⁴³ Ibid., 17, 21.

⁴⁴ For Latin American countries, the expression “Cold War,” meaning that conflicts will not be solved by the employment of nuclear weapons, also known as “hot weapons,” sounded as a euphemism; because for them, the Cold War implied high levels of “heat,” fighting against leftist armed groups. This opinion - given by former Uruguayan president Julio Maria Sanguinetti during his second term in the late 1990s- reveals how the “heat” of the war was channeled to peripheral regions of the world, far from the great powers’ interests.

of the Cold War, South American countries began thinking about domestic and regional security issues, which made possible a transformation from the U.S.-led UNITAS to the concept of a host country-led UNITAS.

D. THE 1973 COUP, THE THIRD WAVE OF DEMOCRACY AND THE MILITARY LAISSEZ-FAIRE ON THE DOMESTIC/BUREAUCRATIC LEVEL

In Uruguay, the defeat of the armed group called *Tupamaros* (the leftist armed movement which threatened the continuity of the constitutional government) at hands of the military caused a deep cleavage in the political parties. Historical political parties were committed to preserving the “Uruguayan way of life.” Doing so was consistent with western bloc standards, which in the region, was tantamount to taking sides with the U.S. Uruguayan leftist parties and other groups, which later formed a coalition called *Frente Amplio* (Broad Front), challenged that trend by taking sides with the USSR. Although the *Frente Amplio* did not take an “official” position of alignment with the USSR, one of its most powerful groups was the Communist Party, which was closely linked with the Communist Party of the USSR. In addition, in its foundation declaration, the *Frente Amplio* stated that its goal was to fully participate in national politics on a daily basis, and to be actively involved in the electoral process (by taking part in future elections) in order to take the nation out of the hands of the “oligarchy” and “foreign capitalist influences.”⁴⁵ The cleavage between the historical political parties and the *Frente Amplio* facilitated the polarization of Uruguayan society and brought discredit to the politicians. The process ended with the rise of a military dictatorship that lasted eleven years (1973 to 1984).

For the military, devoted to the state’s survival, two things undermined the progress and economic growth of the country during those times: the threat of violent leftist movements and the endless parliamentary debates of the democratic system. Meanwhile, in the aftermath of the *Tupamaros*’ defeat and shortly before the coup, the president considered allowing the military to participate in the government based on two arguments. First, the military was responsible for the victory against the *Tupamaros* and the government could have done nothing without their help, therefore, the real power

⁴⁵ “Declaración Constitutiva del Frente Amplio,” February 5, 1971, Qué Hacer, http://www.quehacer.com.uy/Uruguay/frente_amplio/declaracion_constitutiva.htm.

resided with the military. Second, the military pressured the Executive branch of the government to make concessions allowing them participate in the government concerning national security issues; hence, if development relied on security provided by the armed forces, the armed forces actually constituted a “power.”⁴⁶ The bottom line of this pseudo-syllogism is that the president considered the military to be the owner of the “real” power in governance. Nothing could be done without the support of the military. As a result, the military became increasingly involved in domestic development affairs. A famous motto of those times was that “the armed forces provided the security required for the country to achieve progress and economic growth.”

When democracy was peacefully recovered in 1985, the military in Uruguay went back to the barracks. There were no immediate threats to face within Uruguay’s borders and the most important frontier issues with neighbors had been solved many years ago. Almost by inertia, the armed forces kept their links with the U.S. military. The Uruguayan Navy continued to participate in the hemispheric UNITAS operation. However, it became harder to get parliamentary authorization to operate with the U.S., because leftist parties reappeared in the domestic political arena.⁴⁷ Not only was the U.S. seen as a former supporter of the dictatorship, but it was also criticized for its

⁴⁶ Miguel Angel Campódonico, *Antes del Silencio, Bordaberry, Memorias de un Presidente Uruguayo* (Montevideo: Linardy y Risso, 2003), 119-120, 202.

⁴⁷ Poder Legislativo de la República Oriental del Uruguay, “Diario de Sesiones de la Cámara de Senadores de la República Oriental del Uruguay, Operación UNITAS XXVI: De acuerdo con lo aconsejado por la comisión de Defensa Nacional, se resuelve el archivo del proyecto,” Segundo Periodo Ordinario de la XLII Legislatura, 61ª Sesión Ordinaria, 17 de Setiembre de 1985, 162. <http://www.parlamento.gub.uy/SESIONES/PDFS/SENADO/19850917s0061.pdf>. In fact, in 1985, the Senate decided to shelve all discussion on the UNITAS, following the recommendation of the Defense Committee of the Senate. In this case, the majority of the historical parties’ senators agreed with the recommendation. Hence, the 1985 UNITAS was not executed. Among other reasons, leftist members of the parliament argued that Uruguay’s land would not be used as training field for the U.S. invasion to Nicaragua, which at that time, was ruled by the Sandinistas.

interventions in Central America. Consequently, the left systematically opposed any military participation in U.S.-led combined military exercises.⁴⁸

Although Huntington's third wave of democracy⁴⁹ had landed in Uruguay, the military continued to be involved in domestic issues. Based upon Huntington's typology, I argue that their continued involvement occurred because the Uruguayan restoration of democracy was a "transplacement" case, whereby democratization occurred as a result of joint action taken by government and opposition groups.⁵⁰ Due to the lack of well defined political terms concerning defense policy, the armed forces found themselves trying to reformulate their commitments. They slowly started to create a national defense doctrine with no political orientation, so each service acted independently. Lack of jointness was common. In the end, it seemed that the new democratic government permitted the military "laissez-faire" as a way to avoid embarrassing civil-military relations at the onset of the third wave of democracy.

However, in order to demonstrate control over the armed forces, the government merely reformed the basic articles of the existent military legislation. In doing so, the democratic government emphasized the "classic" homeland defense role of the armed

⁴⁸ Poder Legislativo de la República Oriental del Uruguay, "Diario de Sesiones de la Cámara de Senadores de la República Oriental del Uruguay, Operación UNITAS XXVII: Autorización para hacer escala en Montevideo a tres Unidades de la Armada de Estados Unidos de América. En consideración," Segundo Período Ordinario de la XLII Legislatura, 54ª Sesión Ordinaria Extraordinaria, 6 de Octubre de 1986, 74, 80. <http://www.parlamento.gub.uy/SESIONES/PDFS/SENADO/19861006s0054.pdf>. The bill was finally approved by the Senate with the negative votes of the *Frente Amplio*'s senators. Henceforth, the *Frente Amplio*'s senators never gave their votes for authorizing the execution of subsequent UNITAS operations.

⁴⁹ Samuel P. Huntington, *The Third Wave, Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 16. According to Huntington, the world has experienced three "waves of democracy." The first began in 1828, when the right to vote was extended to a large mass of the U.S. male population and reversed in 1922, when Mussolini took over Italy and the number of world's democracies began decreasing. The second wave occurred in 1943, when Mussolini was deposed from government in Italy during the Allied occupation in World War II and reversed in 1962, when again, the number of world's democracies began decreasing in the midst of the Cold War. The third wave started in 1974 with the restoration of democracy in Portugal, continued with its expansion to other European countries, Asia and Latin America during the 1980s, and still goes on.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 114. According to Huntington, transplacement transitions occur from joint action by government and opposition groups. In fact, the Naval Club Pact was the agreement achieved in 1984 between the military and political parties by which a peaceful transfer of power from "de facto" authorities to democratically elected ones was possible in 1985.

forces and their commitment to the defense of the Constitution and the rule of law.⁵¹ In regard to the traditional relationships the Uruguayan military had with its regional counterparts, the government tried to respect the compromises with the almost dying hemispheric alliance. In this sense, while the left systematically opposed the UNITAS operations, the historical political parties gave their support. Finally, the country's commitment to the MFO was not interrupted, insofar as this mission was seen as beneficial for projecting a new democratic image of Uruguay in the international arena. At the beginning of the third wave of democracy, the MFO mission, although small in size and not very "publicized," was almost the only issue whereby politicians from all extractions felt pride in the military.

Therefore, three independent variables, the defeat of the violent movements, the period of dictatorship and a peaceful restoration of democracy, caused the Uruguayan Armed Forces to adopt the role of guarantors of the country's survival, protagonists of the country's progress and economic growth and supporters of the state foreign policy, respectively. In the last case, this was done by ensuring Uruguayan participation in combined regional or hemispheric military exercises and maintaining the troops deployed with the MFO.

E. SUMMARY

The Cold War forced the Uruguayan Armed Forces to adopt different roles according to the level of commitment needed to address international, regional and domestic concerns. At the international level, foreign policy principles such as non-intervention and self-determination, the inhibition to project power and consolidation of the state's sovereignty, caused the military to be isolated from overseas conflicts.

On the regional level, geopolitics and commitments to the western world caused the military to operate under the dichotomy of national defense/hemispheric alliance requirements. The rise of violent leftist movements seemed to solve this dilemma. The armed forces felt they were guarantors of the state's survival and protectors of the

⁵¹ Poder Legislativo de la República Oriental del Uruguay, "Ley 15808," Art. 2. <http://www.parlamento.gub.uy/Leyes/Ley15808.htm>. This article stated the armed forces' commitment to the defense of the state's sovereignty, the Constitution and the Rule of Law. It modified the former military bill written under dictatorship rule, *Ley 14157*, whereby the mission of the Uruguayan Armed Forces was succinctly stated as to provide external and internal security.

“Uruguayan way of life” (national defense). At the same time, they opposed the “intromission” of “alien” ideologies in the region (hemispheric alliance). Regional exercises on conventional warfare developed, which increased interoperability.

At the domestic/bureaucratic level, two periods should be noted. In dictatorship times (1973-1985), the armed forces became fully involved in domestic affairs, having designed the country’s progress and economic growth agenda. After the restoration of democracy (1985), the military did not disappear from the internal scene. Lack of governmental guidance caused the military *laissez-faire* on national defense policy. Former hemispheric commitments remained alive (with leftist opposition). Operations on behalf of “peace,” such as the MFO, did not elicit controversy because they were consistent with Uruguayan foreign policy principles and with the new image the country was trying to project in the international arena.

The following section deals with post-Cold War times. We will see how the “peaceful” use of the armed forces overseas became a matter of consensus among all political parties.

F. POST COLD WAR TIMES AND URUGUAY’S PARTICIPATION IN THE INTERNATIONAL AGENDA

Now, we can see a new world coming into view. A world in which there is the very real prospect of a new world order. In the words of Winston Churchill, a ‘world order’ in which ‘the principles of justice and fair play ... protect the weak against the strong ...’ A world where the United Nations, freed from cold war stalemate, is poised to fulfill the historic vision of its founders.”

George Herbert Walker Bush (U.S. President, 1989-1993), March 6, 1991.⁵²

The rise of the “New World Order” in the aftermath of the Cold War was the main event that caused the South American region and within it, Uruguay, to demonstrate its commitment with the democratic changes taking place in the world, unfettered by the constraints of the Cold War. World Bipolarity was substituted for liberal ideals such as democratic peace, economic interdependence and the importance of international

⁵² George Herbert Walker Bush. “New World Order, President Bush’s Speech to the Congress,” Arab Gateway, <http://www.al-bab.com/arab/docs/pal/pal10.htm>.

institutions.⁵³ For Uruguay, which had become accustomed to following the “western” agenda, those ideals represented the country’s coherence with its traditional domestic and foreign policy. Uruguay had already restored democracy and had embraced the liberal economic option before the end of the Cold War. Besides, Uruguay had long been an unconditional supporter of the UN.

In those times, Uruguayan democracy had already surmounted many difficult obstacles faced by the country. A law of amnesty had been passed to free political prisoners and ordinary convicts from jail (1985). Furthermore, a referendum (1989) had ratified a formerly approved law (1986), in which the state declined its right to prosecute the military and police for violations of human rights during the dictatorship. Some years later, while the “New World Order” was establishing roots in the international community, Uruguay was being ruled by its second elected government since the restoration of democracy (1990-1994).

The rise of the New World Order made it possible for the UN to fully enjoy its peacekeeping role. The context was clearly “painted” by U.S. President George Herbert Walker Bush

This is an historic moment. We have in this past year made great progress in ending the long era of conflict and cold war. We have before us the opportunity to forge for ourselves and for future generations a new world order -- a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations. When we are successful -- and we will be -- we have a real chance at this new world order, an order in which a credible United Nations can use its peacekeeping role to fulfill the promise and vision of the U.N.'s founders. ⁵⁴

The Uruguayan government saw the New World Order as a window of opportunity to improve the image of the country in the international arena. The military became the government’s major partner through its participation in peacekeeping missions. Despite the discredit the armed forces had suffered because of the dictatorship,

⁵³ Bruce Russett and John Oneal, *Triangulating Peace, Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations* (New York-London: The Norton Series in World Politics, 2001), 24-35.

⁵⁴ George Herbert Walker Bush, “Address to the nation on the Invasion of Iraq (January 16, 1991),” Miller Center of Public Affairs, http://millercenter.virginia.edu/scripps/diglibrary/prezspeeches/ghbush/ghb_1991_0116.html.

especially from the left, they were supported in their role as peacekeepers. **In this regard, what caused the right and the left in Uruguay to achieve consensus concerning the Uruguayan Armed Forces' commitment to peacekeeping operations?**

The following discussion will show consistency between the awakening liberal ideas and the foreign policy principles of Uruguay; thus, illustrating why peacekeeping operations were used as a tool to project the country's image in the international arena. Then, the analysis demonstrates that peacekeeping became a point of common interest amongst the countries in the region. Regional exercises between the military were the result of that shared interest. Finally, the study will show how Uruguayan politicians from all extractions agreed to support the UN's role as guarantor of peace and international security; thus, explaining why the Uruguayan military became increasingly involved in peacekeeping operations.

G. THE NEW WORLD ORDER AND PEACEKEEPING AS A TOOL FOR INSERTING THE COUNTRY ON THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL

One of the consequences of the New World Order was the occurrence of internal conflicts and state collapse in many third world and former Soviet-bloc countries. When the number of UN peacekeeping operations rose after the Cold War, Uruguay saw the increasing requirement for troops as an opportunity to "show" the international arena the consistency between the discourse and practice of Uruguayan foreign policy

At that time, the Army already had some experience in peacekeeping due to its participation in observers' missions, but especially because of its commitment to the MFO. Although there was no specific policy for dealing with peacekeeping operations, the underlying idea was to "insert" the country into the New World Order, the same way the country had been "inserted" into the "western side" of the bipolar world in the past. But under the new circumstances, there was just one side: the side of promotion of democracy and international rule of law under the sponsorship of international institutions, of which the UN was the major exponent. This New World Order also meant

that the UN, without constraints other than its foundation charter, would be in a position to preserve peace and international security all over the world.⁵⁵

Based on its traditional foreign policy principles, Uruguay has always been concerned about the neutrality of its troops and the eventuality of using force while embarked in peacekeeping operations. UN Chapter VI missions seemed to fit the Uruguayan foreign policy principles of preventive diplomacy and peaceful resolution of controversies among states. This was because Chapter VI operations, which Alex Bellamy, et al., call “traditional peacekeeping,” enjoy “the ‘holy trinity’ of consent, impartiality and minimum use of force.”⁵⁶ However, nobody in Uruguay foresaw that a problem would arise. Conflicts began to take place among factions within the same country. This trend accounted for what Bellamy, et al., call a “post-Westphalian conception of peacekeeping.”⁵⁷ This concept implies that besides maintaining order between states, peacekeeping has to ensure peace and security **within** states. Therefore, insofar as a Uruguayan force was involved in another country’s peace process, the traditional foreign policy principle of non-intervention in another state’s domestic affairs would be systematically “violated.” This post-Westphalian issue was surmounted by obtaining expressed consent from the country under a peace process. In doing so, the observance of the principle of non-intervention was guaranteed.⁵⁸ Under these circumstances, these “new types” of Chapter VI peacekeeping operations, although they took place within a state, fit the Uruguayan foreign policy principles.⁵⁹

Accordingly, Uruguay committed troops in three important missions: Cambodia (1991-1993), Mozambique (1992-1994) and Angola (1995-1999). Those were UN “managing transition” missions established under Chapter VI. Following Bellamy, et al.’s

⁵⁵ Bart R. Kessler, “Bush’s New World Order: The Meaning Behind the Words.” Research Paper presented to the Research Department, Air Command and Staff College, March 1997, <http://4acloserlook.com/ADANWOPaper.pdf>.

⁵⁶ Alex Bellamy, Stuart Griffin, and Paul Williams, *Understanding Peacekeeping* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2004), 95.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 2-3.

⁵⁸ Paul F. Diehl, *International Peacekeeping* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University, 1995), 9.

⁵⁹ Ministerio de Defensa Nacional de la República Oriental del Uruguay, “La Defensa Nacional,...,” 60.

argument, “traditional peacekeeping” had evolved into “managing transition” operations. These operations aimed to “manage and oversee a process of transition from violence to stable peace **within** states,”⁶⁰ as happened in Cambodia, Mozambique and Angola. In all, 6488 Uruguayan troops served in those missions.⁶¹

Mozambique is considered a successful case, where democracy was installed after elections. Since the installation of democracy, the country has been peacefully ruled by democratic regimes. The role of the UN, as an international institution, made possible the instauration of democracy as a means of ensuring lasting peace.

The Cambodia case is different. The UN went there to practically rebuild the entire institutional infrastructure and bureaucracy of the country. Uruguayan troops (Army and Navy) demonstrated high professionalism in supporting UN tasks. The Navy took over as the Phnom Penh port authority and created the Cambodian Navy from scratch.⁶² The Army relieved the French troops in areas where the local population resisted Europeans because of their imperial past. The Uruguayan troops gained the trust of the locals and in so doing, more successfully carried out their duties in fulfilling the UN mandate than the French.⁶³ Although it is also considered an example of a successful transition from UN participation to an indigenous democratic regime, further instability has undermined the consolidation of democracy.

Angola presents a distinct case. When the UN mission ended after supervising elections in 1992, democracy lasted a very short time due to the reoccurrence of

⁶⁰ Bellamy, et al., 46, 111, 129-130, (emphasis added). For these authors, “traditional peacekeeping” are held under Chapter VI. Because their classification criteria is based on what the operation is ordered to achieve (in UN jargon, “mandate”), without dealing so much with “UN chapters,” they consider the cases of Cambodia, Mozambique and Angola as “managing transition” operations. This categorization does not oppose the fact that those operations were set up under Chapter VI.

⁶¹ Ejército Nacional, 39, 54, 72. In total, 6361 army personnel participated in the three operations. Also, “La Armada Nacional y las Misiones de Paz,” Comando General de la Armada, http://www.armada.gub.uy/Comar/Repar/Que_hacemos/misiones_paz/misiones_paz.htm (accessed August, 15, 2005). In total, 127 navy personnel participated, but they did it only in the Cambodia operation.

⁶² Juan Rial, “La Relevancia de las Misiones de Paz para las FFAA de Uruguay,” *Revista Naval* no. 50 (Club Naval del Uruguay, September 2005), 8-9.

⁶³ Antonio Palá, “Peacekeeping and its Effects on Civil-Military Relations, The Argentine Experience,” in *International Security and Democracy, Latin America and The Caribbean in the Post-Cold War Era*, ed. Jorge I. Domínguez. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1998), 149.

rebellions and civil unrest. After a ten-year struggle, the president elected in 1992, who had remained in power all those years, promised to hold elections in 2006.

In the following years, UN peacekeeping operations set up under Chapter VI would evolve into Chapter VII due to the activities of armed resistance groups working against the peace processes. This trend rendered Chapter VI operations inadequate for accomplishing the given UN mandate. Under these circumstances, the UN Security Council changed the original Chapter VI approach for Chapter VII mandates. These operations became known as “Chapter Six and a Half” operations because they had characteristics of both Chapter VI and Chapter VII. On the one hand, the mission must have the parties’ consent and peacekeepers must demonstrate impartiality (Chapter VI). On the other hand, the mission has to accomplish an array of transitional roles, such as disarmament, providing security to key personnel and supporting elections. Because peacekeepers are deployed in an “environment that may be volatile” with no available buffer zone, they are authorized a minimum use of force besides self-defense to fulfill the mandate (Chapter VII). Bellamy, et al., consider this type of operation to be “wider peacekeeping,” but the authors are cautious in not considering them to be full Chapter VII operations.⁶⁴ To cope with the increasingly “volatile environments” the *Brahimi*

⁶⁴ Bellamy, et al., 128-133. In my opinion, this is the DRC case. Also “UN Security Council Resolution 1291,” 2000, United Nations, 8, <http://www.un.org/documents/scres.htm>. The UN Security Council established MONUC’s mandate through Resolution 1291, 2000. Although this resolution was taken under the provisions of the UN Chapter VII, in practice, MONUC was a classic “six and a half” peacekeeping operation. By analyzing the text of the resolution, we can notice that the mandate said that MONUC “...**may** take the **necessary** action, in the areas of deployment of its infantry battalions...to protect United Nations and Joint Military Commission personnel...and protect civilians under **imminent threat** of physical violence” (emphasis added). Thus, we see that the use of force was restricted to very specific issues and situations, but most important, expressions such as “may,” “necessary,” and “imminent threat,” allowed ambiguous interpretations. In my opinion, this explains why, at that time, MONUC was considered a “six and a half” peacekeeping mission, in Bellamy et al.’s words, a wider peacekeeping operation. Also, “UN Security Council Resolution 1484,” 2003, United Nations, 4, <http://www.un.org/documents/scres.htm>. In order to prevent further events like the massacre of 2002, the UN Security Council, acting under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, allowed the implementation of an Interim Emergency Multinational Force in the Eastern Congo city of Bunia which was authorized to use “**all** necessary means” to fulfill its mandate (emphasis added). Also, “UN Security Council Resolution 1493,” 2003, United Nations, 3, <http://www.un.org/documents/scres.htm>. The UN Security Council made another change in MONUC’s mandate through Resolution 1493, 2003. In doing so the resolution authorized MONUC “...to use **all** necessary means to fulfill its mandate...” (emphasis added) in north-eastern and eastern provinces.

Report outlined the concept of “robust peacekeeping,”⁶⁵ whereby it is recommended that peacekeeping forces be “robust” in order to deter spoilers or in the event that it is necessary to use force to fulfill the UN mandate. In these cases, UN missions would be established under Chapter VII, ordinarily known as peace enforcement.

For the Uruguayan government, the problem with Chapter VII mandates was that its troops could be seen as non-neutral or non-impartial.⁶⁶ Furthermore, using force might be seen as a violation of the Uruguayan foreign policy principle of non-intervention, which had also been one major component of the leftist discourse.⁶⁷ Thus, it seems that the Uruguayan authorities were caught by the restrictions imposed by the country’s foreign policy, compounded by an increasingly leftist political opposition. The international aphorism “Chapter six and a half” operations was the leitmotif which allowed Uruguayan troops to be deployed in zones where the UN mandate, although set up under Chapter VII, had characteristics of Chapter VI. In this regard, the parties’ consent, impartiality and minimum use of force made it possible for Uruguay to achieve consensus among all political parties when making the decision to deploy Army, Navy and Air Force troops to the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC).⁶⁸

⁶⁵ “Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations,” *Brahimi Report*, (A/55/05-S/2000/809), United Nations, 21 August 2000, 1, 9, <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N00/594/70/PDF/N0059470.pdf?OpenElement>. Robust Peacekeeping is what Brahimi developed in his report as necessary “to distinguish victim from aggressor.”

⁶⁶ Ibid., 133, 170. Although here both words are used as synonymous, in peacekeeping jargon they do not mean the same. Bellamy et al. say that “neutral peacekeepers play no political role whatsoever whereas impartial peacekeepers discriminate between belligerents according to their adherence to the mandate and treat like breaches in similar ways.” Also Diehl, 64. When the author says that neutrality is one characteristic of peacekeeping operations, he means “that the troops cannot be drawn from states that have an interest in the conflict at hand.” However, he later says that “neutrality in composition...is supposed to guarantee neutrality in behavior – that peacekeeping force will not favor one protagonist over another.” By analyzing this last sentence we can infer that Diehl is talking about Bellamy et al.’s concept of impartiality.

⁶⁷ “Defensa Nacional y Fuerzas Armadas en la República Oriental del Uruguay,” (Montevideo, Comisión Permanente de Defensa del Frente Amplio, Ámbito de Trabajo, 2004, e-mail communiqué on July 11, 2005), Parte II, Art. 13.

⁶⁸ Poder Legislativo de la República Oriental del Uruguay, “Diario de Sesiones de la Cámara de Senadores de la República Oriental del Uruguay, Proyecto de Ley por el que se autoriza la salida de efectivos individuales y de unidades del Ejército, de la Armada Nacional y de la Fuerza Aérea Uruguaya para participar en el mantenimiento de la paz en el Congo. En consideración. Aprobado,” Segundo Período Ordinario de la XLV Legislatura, 1ª Sesión Ordinaria, 6 de Marzo de 2001, 18-21, <http://www.parlamento.gub.uy/sesiones/pdfs/senado/20010306s0001.pdf>. Also see footnote 59.

Therefore, two independent variables, the spread of democratic peace ideals and the revived role of international institutions in preserving peace and international security, enabled the new Uruguayan liberal democracy to reach a consensus on deploying the military to peacekeeping operations. Doing so allowed the country to participate in the world agenda.

H. NEOLIBERALISM AND THE PEACEKEEPING SUPPLIER ROLE ON THE REGIONAL LEVEL

After the Cold War, many South American countries embraced two remarkable policies in order to demonstrate their willingness to participate in the world agenda: the neoliberal economic model and the commitment of military forces in peacekeeping operations. The former policy failed in the entire region and would pave the way for the rise of leftist regimes.⁶⁹ The latter caused the South American region to be considered a traditional “supplier” of peacekeeping forces.⁷⁰ This peacekeeper “role” led to the development of regional peacekeeping exercises, which, in turn, led to an incipient regional interoperability concerning international peacekeeping operations.⁷¹ In this case, although the traditional U.S.-led maneuvers continued to be executed, military training evolved towards multinational peacekeeping exercises between regional partners under UN standards.

In 1995, the armies of Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay (along with the U.S.) participated in a combined peacekeeping planning exercise. In 1996, different services of Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay (again, along with the U.S.) joined efforts and carried out another peacekeeping planning exercise.⁷² However, a highlight occurred the same year, when the armies of Argentina and Brazil undertook a joint exercise called *Operación Cruz del Sur* (Operation Southern Cross). Military observers from Chile, Paraguay and

⁶⁹ Eduardo Ulery, “Did the neoliberal economic model in Latin America pave the way for the rise of leftist regimes?” Research Paper for a course on Economic Development for Security Building, Naval Postgraduate School, 2005, 36-37.

⁷⁰ Antonio Palá, “El Creciente Papel de las Fuerzas Armadas Latinoamericanas en el Mantenimiento de Paz por las Naciones Unidas,” *Air Power Journal*, Edición Hispanoamericana (Primavera 1996): 11, <http://www.airpower.maxwell.af.mil/apjinternational/apj-s/prima96/pala.html>.

⁷¹ “Durante 2004 Se Incrementaron Significativamente Los Ejercicios Militares Con Fuerzas Extranjeras,” Centro de Estudios Nueva Mayoría, 3-7, <http://www.nuevamayoria.com/ES/INVESTIGACIONES/defense/041222a.html>. (accessed July 18, 2005).

⁷² Ibid.

Uruguay were invited.⁷³ This exercise consisted of planning and executing a UN peacekeeping operation involving around 1300 troops. The Chilean observer pointed out that the exercise had been “one of the most important events he had ever witnessed in the field of regional security.”⁷⁴

In the 1997 version of *Operación Cruz del Sur* held in Brazil, Uruguayan troops joined the exercise. Further, in 1998, the Argentine Army hosted a combined Uruguayan-Argentine peacekeeping exercise. This constituted an important landmark, at least for Uruguay, because the exercise was based on a UN Chapter VI situation, which then evolved into a sort of Chapter VII operation.⁷⁵ In addition, the South Atlantic phase of the traditional U.S.-led UNITAS operation (among navies) was planned and executed. This exercise dealt with providing support to a peacekeeping operation from the sea.⁷⁶ Although these exercises were repeated, new ones were incorporated into the military regional agenda. The interesting point was that in 2000, *Operación Cruz del Sur* was joined for the first time by all MERCOSUR state-members (Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay), and also Chile.⁷⁷ Since then, many of the combined military exercises which have taken place in the region have been related to peacekeeping, natural disaster assistance and humanitarian relief.⁷⁸

Therefore, two independent variables, the “peacekeeper role” and the regional integration through economic blocs, caused the development of multinational peacekeeping exercises, which in turn, improved regional interoperability.

I. SUPPORT TO THE UN AND A NEW IMAGE FOR THE ARMY ON THE DOMESTIC/BUREAUCRATIC LEVEL

Although bipolarity ended after the Cold War, the left in Uruguay felt that it should form its own profile against the hegemony of the U.S., the only remaining

⁷³ “Durante 2004 Se Incrementaron...,” 3-7.

⁷⁴ Carlos Escudé and Andrés Fontana, “Argentina’s Security Policies, their Rationale and Regional Context” in *International Security and Democracy, Latin America and the Caribbean in the Post-Cold War Era*, ed. Jorge I. Domínguez. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1998), 60-61, 69.

⁷⁵ Ejército Argentino, “Operación Ceibo ’98 Ganar la Paz,” *Guía de los Uniformados*, No. 14, 1998. <http://www.uniformados.com.ar/Ejercito14.html>.

⁷⁶ “Durante 2004 Se Incrementaron...,” 4.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 5. Chile is separately treated because it was not a MERCOSUR full member.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 5-7.

superpower. In this sense, the left rejected the emergent U.S. role as “world police.” In regard to defense and security issues, not only did the left systematically oppose the participation of Uruguayan forces in U.S.-led combined military exercises, but it also voiced its disagreement with the U.S.-led meetings of Ministers of Defense of the Americas.⁷⁹

Meanwhile, the historical political parties⁸⁰ used the moment as a window of opportunity to project the country’s traditional foreign policy of preventive diplomacy and peaceful resolution of controversies. Besides, Uruguay had already experienced its “third wave” of democracy, which caused it to embrace the democratic peace principles. Accordingly, the country adhered to the so-called “democratic clause,” whereby MERCOSUR members promised a commitment to democracy.⁸¹ Belief in these democratic peace ideals, emphasized in support of the restored liberal democracy, and adherence to the Uruguayan traditional foreign policy principles caused the government to support the role of the UN as guarantor of peace and international security. In this case, because the government, and especially the leftist opposition, considered participation in peacekeeping a backup for the UN, the left supported the deployment of troops committed to peacekeeping missions.

In response to the increasing participation of Uruguayan troops in peacekeeping operations, the Uruguayan Army created an agency to manage the deployment of peacekeeping forces. This agency, called *SINOMAPA*⁸² (Peacekeeping Operations National Support System), has operated under the Minister of Defense and supervised the deployment of troops of the three services (Army, Navy and Air Force).⁸³ Then, the

⁷⁹ “Defensa Nacional y Fuerzas Armadas...,” Parte II, Arts. 10, 13.

⁸⁰ There were three democratic governments in Uruguay ruled by historical political parties, *Partido Colorado* (Red Party) and *Partido Nacional/ Blanco* (White Party) since the “third wave of democracy” began in 1985. The *Partido Colorado* ruled from 1985 to 1989, the *Partido Nacional/ Blanco* from 1990 to 1994, and again, the *Partido Colorado* from 1995 to 1999. Another *Partido Colorado*’s government took over from 2000 to 2004; but, in order to follow the framework of this analysis, this term is considered in the next chapter.

⁸¹ “Protocolo de Ushuaia sobre Compromiso Democrático en el Mercosur, la República de Bolivia y la República de Chile,” MERCOSUR, July 24, 1998, <http://www.mercosur.org.uy/pagina1esp.htm>.

⁸² SINOMAPA stands for “Sistema Nacional de Apoyo a las Operaciones de Mantenimiento de la Paz.”

⁸³ Poder Ejecutivo de la República Oriental del Uruguay, Decreto del Poder Ejecutivo No. 560/94, 21 de Diciembre, 1994.

Army created its own assessment unit called *CECOMAPA*,⁸⁴ developed its own doctrine on peacekeeping operations following UN standards and created a training center to support the readiness of peacekeeping troops and observers.⁸⁵ These developments indicated the increasing importance the Army had placed on peacekeeping as its primary role.

In the past, peacekeeping was considered a subsidiary mission, although Uruguay had had a long standing tradition of supporting peacekeeping operations. But, except for the participation in MFO, it was military observers who carried out this type of mission. By contrast, during the boom of peacekeeping, the Uruguayan Army had one fifth of its personnel constantly committed to those operations.⁸⁶ For example, at the same time the country was running the UN operation in Cambodia, which involved Army and Navy forces,⁸⁷ it began running the operation in Mozambique. Immediately after Mozambique, it deployed troops to Angola.⁸⁸ For a small country with a small army, which was not yet used to deploying military forces overseas, this represented much more than a secondary mission. For the different governments, peacekeeping operations had increasingly become a tool for projecting the state foreign policy in order to improve the image of the country in the international arena. For the military, especially for the Army, peacekeeping also became a way to change the “repression paradigm,” internalized by many sectors of Uruguayan society.

Therefore, two independent variables, political support for the UN role as guarantor of peace and international security (as opposed to a U.S. world police role) and the Army’s need to find a “credible” and “respectful” mission after the Cold War, caused

⁸⁴ CECOMAPA stands for “Centro Coordinador de Operaciones de Mantenimiento de Paz.”

⁸⁵ Poder Ejecutivo de la República Oriental del Uruguay, Decreto del Poder Ejecutivo No. 377/98, 22 de Diciembre, 1998. Indeed, it is required that all peacekeepers of all services be trained in this facilities prior to deployment.

⁸⁶ Rial, 12.

⁸⁷ Ejército Nacional, 39. Also “La Armada Nacional y...,” 1. The Uruguayan commitment to the UN mission in Cambodia (UNTAC), included one army reinforced infantry battalion and one navy contingent composed of port control teams and staff personnel. The commanding officer for all the UN maritime operations personnel was a Uruguayan navy captain. Under his command, there was a United Kingdom’s Squadron . In addition, the Uruguayan Navy deployed a navy infantry (marines) platoon.

⁸⁸ Ejército Nacional, 54, 72. Uruguay participated in the UN mission in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) and in the mission in Angola (UNAMEV III) with an army reinforced infantry battalion.

Uruguay to increase its commitment to peacekeeping operations. As a result, the Armed Forces became an important part of the state foreign policy.

J. SUMMARY

After the Cold War, political consensus was achieved in Uruguay on the issue of deploying troops in peacekeeping missions. The New World Order paradigm, characterized by liberal ideas such as democratic peace, economic interdependence and international institutions, was in tune with Uruguayan foreign policy principles. At the international level, this New World Order was taken as an opportunity to use the military as a tool to project the country's image in the international arena, and in doing so, to participate in the world agenda.

On the regional level, similar political processes resulting from the consolidation of the third wave of democracy caused the regional countries to participate in peacekeeping operations. This convergence allowed the development of regional peacekeeping exercises among the countries, which in turn, improved military interoperability in peacekeeping operations.

At the domestic/bureaucratic level, political consensus on supporting the UN role as guarantor of peace and international security, increasing rejection of U.S. hegemony as world police and the reinvention of the Army's mission in the aftermath of the Cold War caused Uruguayan governments in general and political parties in particular to agree on sending troops to peacekeeping operations. As a result, the military became the government's partner in projecting the country's image in the international arena.

The following section deals with post-September 11, 2001, times. We will see how the existent consensus on committing troops to peacekeeping evolved into disagreements between historical parties and the left, to the extent that Uruguay's role as "peacekeeping supplier" has come under discussion.

K. POST SEPTEMBER 11, 2001, TIMES AND URUGUAY'S DEBATE ON FOREIGN AND NATIONAL DEFENSE POLICY

...On September the 11th, enemies of freedom committed an act of war against our country...All of this was brought upon us in a single day -- and night fell on a different world, a world where freedom itself is under attack...

...Our war on terror begins with al Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated...

George W. Bush (U.S. President 2001-present), September 20, 2001.⁸⁹

The war on terror launched by the U.S. after the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, without the consent of the UN Security Council, represented a backslide in the liberal discourse which had dominated the scene after the Cold War. However, former U.S. President George Herbert Walker Bush had left an open door for those who advocated for the power of realism. In his speech to the Congress at the end of the First Gulf War, after having developed the paradigm of the New World Order, he finally said, "Even the New World Order cannot guarantee an era of perpetual peace. But enduring peace must be our mission."⁹⁰

For the U.S., the New World Order proved to be short-lived. In 2003, when the U.S. demanded approval for the use of force against Saddam Hussein's regime, the UN's strength (particularly the Security Council) seemed to have declined. During the bipolar times of the Cold War, the Security Council was often characterized by a deadlock brought about by Council members' veto power. This traditional deadlock evolved into a short period of "efficiency" during the New World Order. After September 11, 2001, the UN Security Council seems to have evolved into an inability to enforce UN guidelines. First, the Council was not able to compel Saddam Hussein to comply with UN inspections requirements. Then, when the UN inspectors were finally deployed to Iraq, they were not always allowed full access to military installations. Under these

⁸⁹ The White House, "Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People," September 20, 2001, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-8.html>.

⁹⁰ George Herbert Walker Bush. "New World Order, ..."

circumstances, the UN Security Council did not achieve consensus on how to cope with Hussein's regime. While the U.S. was demanding permission to use force, other members argued for allocating more time to UN inspectors to determine whether or not Hussein was hiding weapons of mass destruction. As a result, the U.S. developed its almost unilateral approach to dealing with the Iraqi issue. When the U.S., the world's sole superpower, by-passed the Council's role as guarantor of peace and international security, the New World Order ended. The end of the New World Order rendered obsolete one of the major statements former U.S. President George Herbert Walker Bush had made ten years before

We have before us the opportunity to forge for ourselves and for future generations a new world order -- a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations.⁹¹

In the meantime, traditional peacekeeping continued to decline. The UN's approach was more prone to Chapter VII missions than before. On that account, Uruguay's commitment to Chapter VI peacekeeping operations (Cambodia, Mozambique and Angola) evolved into "Chapter Six and Half" (DRC and Haiti - although they were set up under Chapter VII). In Uruguay, this evolution became a matter of debate.⁹² **If the rule of law weakened after September 11, 2001, why has Uruguay, whose "protecting shield"⁹³ relied on the observance of international law, questioned its commitment to peacekeeping, a clear tool in support of international law and order?** Why did Uruguay lose its traditional consensus on that issue? The War on Terror, which has been the main event at the international level since September 11, 2001, allows us to see that Uruguay has taken refuge behind its traditional foreign policy principles as a means to reject "unilateral" interventions and buttress the role of international institutions. We can see that this approach, along with the rise of leftist regimes in South

⁹¹ George Herbert Walker Bush. "Address to the nation on the Invasion of Iraq (January 16, 1991)," Miller Center of Public Affairs http://millercenter.virginia.edu/scripps/diglibrary/prezspeeches/ghbush/ghb_1991_0116.html.

⁹² In fact, the DRC mission was set up under Chapter VII. What happened is that it was considered a Chapter "six and a half" operation, because the UN forces were deployed after a ceasefire agreement was reached. Once focuses of violence arose, MONUC (UN mission in the DRC) was authorized the use of force to fulfill the mandate. However, MONUC cannot be considered full Chapter VII operation. Instead, it fits what Bellamy et al.'s call "wider peacekeeping,"

⁹³ Bizzozero, 177-198.

America, caused the Uruguayan government to include security issues in the regional agenda. Finally, we will see that it has been difficult for Uruguay to understand the evolution peacekeeping has experienced, especially in light of the increasing “de facto” interventions. These issues explain why political consensus was not achieved Uruguayan participation in recent UN missions.

L. THE WAR ON TERROR AND THE LOSS OF CONSENSUS IN URUGUAY ON PEACEKEEPING AT THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL

The Uruguayan government condemned the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. Indeed, a Uruguayan citizen died aboard one of the crashed planes.⁹⁴ In this regard, the *Cámara de Representantes* (House of Representatives) approved a declaration of solidarity with the people of the United States and their government.⁹⁵ On the same day (September 11, 2001), the *Cámara de Representantes* also received two bills passed by the Senate related to defense and security issues. One authorized an increment in the number of peacekeeping troops deployed in the DRC. The other authorized the Navy to take part in the U.S.-led UNITAS naval operation. Both were favorably sanctioned by the Senate.⁹⁶

Nevertheless, when U.S. President George W. Bush announced the “war on terror” and carried out the “reprisal” against Afghanistan, the Uruguayan people reinforced their beliefs in the principle of non-intervention. For instance, once the operation in Afghanistan began, a survey conducted in Uruguay indicated that 77% of the populace thought the U.S. should have chosen a different approach for dealing with the problem.⁹⁷ Only 15% of the people agreed with the use of force. But most important, 93% of the leftist sympathizers disagreed with the U.S. attacks on Afghanistan. Among

⁹⁴ Poder Legislativo de la República Oriental del Uruguay, “Diario de Sesiones de la Cámara de Representantes de la República Oriental del Uruguay, Atentados consumados en el territorio de los Estados Unidos de América (Declaración). Se aprueba un proyecto de declaración. Texto del proyecto aprobado,” Segundo Período Ordinario de la XLV Legislatura, 54ª Sesión Extraordinaria, 11 de Setiembre de 2001, 22-38, <http://www.parlamento.gub.uy/sesiones/pdfs/camara/20010911d0054.pdf>.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Juan Carlos Doyenart, “Encuestas de Opinión Pública, Afganistán,” Interconsult, November 11, 2001, <http://www.interconsult.com.uy/marco5.htm>.

them, 73% thought that former U.S. policies in the region were part of the underlying causes of the conflict.⁹⁸

One month later, another survey indicated that 81% of the Uruguayan people thought that the world was no safer than before the campaign in Afghanistan was launched.⁹⁹ Of these people, 87% were residents of the capital city, where a majority of 60% were leftist sympathizers. In addition, 78% of Uruguayans disagreed with the possibility of launching further U.S. military operations in other countries to fight terrorism.¹⁰⁰

Furthermore, when the U.S. decided to bypass the UN Security Council and intervene in Iraq, the Uruguayan government (at that time ruled by the *Partido Colorado*, which was based on the traditional foreign policy principle of non-intervention) did not support the use of force by the U.S. Uruguay might have supported the use of force if the intervention had been directed by the UN Security Council. Indeed, Uruguayan military observers to the UN mission on the Kuwait-Iraq border, installed after the First Gulf War, were withdrawn at the onset of the operation *Iraqi Freedom*. Hitherto, there had been no disagreement between the Uruguayan government and the left.

So, one independent variable, U.S. interventions by-passing the UN Security Council, caused the Uruguayan government to take refuge in its traditional foreign policy principles of peaceful resolution of controversies and non-intervention.

Meanwhile, UN peacekeeping was becoming somewhat “coercive.” The left had already voiced its disagreement with the increasing use of force in UN missions. For the left in Uruguay, the issue was then to decide whether or not the country should still be committed in the DRC in light of the changing UN approach. However, in this case, the use of force was restricted to fulfill the UN mandate.¹⁰¹ That meant that UN troops would

⁹⁸ Juan Carlos Doyenart, “Encuestas de Opinión Pública, Afganistán,” Interconsult, November 11, 2001.

⁹⁹ Ibid., “Encuestas de Opinión Pública, EEUU vs. Afganistán,” Interconsult, January 27, 2002, <http://www.interconsult.com.uy/marco5.htm>.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ “UN Security Council Resolution 1484,” 2003, United Nations, 4, <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N03/377/68/PDF/N0337768.pdf?OpenElement>.

not carry out attacks or offensive operations to achieve control of geographical areas or population. That meant the troops must be able to accomplish the UN mandate. In doing so, the troops would contribute to enforcing the prescriptions of the ceasefire or the peace agreement signed by all antagonist parties. This “new” UN approach, by which peacekeeping troops were increasingly allowed to use force to fulfill the mandate, began eroding the political consensus Uruguay had previously enjoyed on peacekeeping.

The problem with today’s peacekeeping missions is that sometimes armed factions undermine the peace process. Using force may be the only means of coping with those factions. By not allowing the use of force against those who undermine the peace process, violence does not stop and peacekeeping missions become endless. If the UN refuses to permit the use of force in upcoming missions, it will not be able to accomplish the desired goals of ensuring peace and international security.¹⁰² As a result, the UN will lose credibility. For example, when bootstrapped by the inability to use force, peacekeeping forces witnessed the occurrence of ethnic cleansing, genocide and masses of refugees (Rwanda, Srebrenica). As a result, the trend concerning UN peace operations seems to be moving towards the acceptance of using force if needed to fulfill the UN mandate. Again, the issue is not to impose a peace process by force. It is to support the management and consolidation of a peace process among parties that have agreed to work towards a peaceful solution.

After reading the *Brahimi Report*, it is easy to deduce that Chapter VI peacekeeping operations are no longer suitable for today’s post-Westphalian world, where conflicts take place within a state among non-state actors.¹⁰³ Current and future UN missions will need some type of enforcement capacity, which is tantamount to saying that they would be set up under Chapter VII. The “fall” of traditional peacekeeping constituted a landmark that Uruguay should consider when discussing future

¹⁰² “UN Charter,” United Nations, Preamble, <http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/index.html>.

¹⁰³ “Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations,” 1, 9.

engagements in UN missions.¹⁰⁴ The military's interest in continuing to participate played an important role. However, the political parties' viewpoint will surely consider the impact of public opinion. In this sense, the Army is aware of that impact, as stated in the white defense book.¹⁰⁵ When the change in the DRC's mandate opened the debate in Uruguay on whether or not to keep troops on the ground, consensus was not achieved. However, at the end of the day, a majority of votes from the historical political parties allowed Uruguay to remain committed in the DRC.¹⁰⁶ Because the debate had already been set up in the political realm, a similar situation occurred in regard to the Uruguayan participation in the UN mission on Haiti.¹⁰⁷

Hence, two independent variables, the "new UN approach" in regard to peacekeeping as expressed in the *Brahimi Report* and the military's interests, caused the Uruguayan government to remain committed in places where the use of force was partially allowed by the UN.

¹⁰⁴ "La Política Militar del Frente Amplio, Uruguay, Frente Amplio y Fuerzas Armadas," Red Globe, October 11, 2004, <http://64.233.187.104/search?q=cache:OFG3JT22FD4J:redglobe.de/modules.php%3Fname%3DNews%26file%3Dprint%26sid%3D3166++%22URUGUAY:+FRENTE+AMPLIO+Y+FUERZAS+ARMADAS%22&hl=en> (accessed May 12, 2005).

¹⁰⁵ Ministerio de Defensa Nacional de la República Oriental del Uruguay, "La Defensa Nacional,...", 67.

¹⁰⁶ Poder Legislativo de la República Oriental del Uruguay, "Diario de Sesiones de la Cámara de Senadores de la República Oriental del Uruguay, Proyecto Presentado. Se vota negativamente," Cuarto Período Ordinario de la XLV Legislatura, 33ª Sesión Extraordinaria, 30 de Julio de 2003, 65-68, 69, <http://www.parlamento.gub.uy/sesiones/pdfs/senado/20030730s0033.pdf>. The bill expressed the *Frente Amplio*'s concerns about the participation of Uruguayan troops in Chapter VII operations, commonly related to peace enforcement. However, it must be clarified that MONUC had been deployed under Chapter VII and never under Chapter VI. For many people, at the beginning MONUC could have been considered a Chapter VI mission because it was set up with the consent of the parties. Further, the issue was that a new UN Security Council Resolution (1493/2003) authorized MONUC to use of "all necessary means to fulfill its mandate." So, it is clear the "confusion" or problem that generates when dealing with peacekeeping operations in terms of "Chapter VI" or "Chapter VII." In today's context, it is clearer to analyze which type of operation the troops are going to carry out (wider peacekeeping, managing transition, peace enforcement, etc.), instead of thinking under which chapter of the UN Charter they will be deployed, because as we saw, Chapter VI operations (traditional peacekeeping) have become unlikely.

¹⁰⁷ Poder Legislativo de la República Oriental del Uruguay, "Diario de Sesiones de la Cámara de Senadores de la República Oriental del Uruguay, Operaciones para el Mantenimiento de la Paz en Haití. Proyecto de ley por el que se autoriza la salida de efectivos militares para participar en dichas operaciones. En consideración. Aprobado," Quinto Período Ordinario de la XLV Legislatura, 18ª Sesión Ordinaria, 2 de Junio de 2004, 189-204, 209-216, <http://www.parlamento.gub.uy/sesiones/pdfs/senado/20040602s0018.pdf>.

Nevertheless, the left views the UN's increasing the use of force to ensure peace as a tool related to third parties' interests, such as the U.S.¹⁰⁸ In addition, the U.S. campaigns in Afghanistan and Iraq reinforced the left's rejection of the increasing U.S. hegemony at the expense of UN strength. The unilateral trend which began showing in the international order after September 11, 2001, was at odds with the leftist political discourse in Uruguay. As a result, while the current Uruguayan leftist government, which took over in March 2005, might support peacekeeping in the traditional sense, they are unlikely to expand participation in Chapter VII operations or to support any deployments that might be associated with the consequences of U.S. intervention in the Middle East. Besides, in order to raise its own profile, the leftist government expressed its interest in deepening the regional integration and in closing links with the European Union (EU) and Asia.¹⁰⁹

M. THE RISE OF LEFTIST REGIMES: EXPLORING A PEACEKEEPING PARTNERSHIP ON THE REGIONAL LEVEL

The rise of democratically elected leftist regimes in South America is a new phenomenon that marked the beginning of the twenty-first century in the region. South Americans accepted the market reforms of the 1990s as an unavoidable risk needed to cope with the poor economic performance of the 1980s. Although the size of the state apparatus in South American countries diminished, the welfare of ordinary people did not improve. After a decade of economic frustration, South Americans appeared to lose faith in the neoliberal promise, choosing to move left politically.¹¹⁰

The rise of leftist regimes in the Southern Cone of Latin America (Kirchner in Argentina; Lula in Brazil; Lagos in Chile; Vázquez in Uruguay) made possible the formation of an ideological bloc in the region. Because it was the first time such a confluence had occurred, leftist leaders expressed their willingness to forge links between the countries and adopt regional standards on many issues, such as economic policy.

¹⁰⁸ "Defensa Nacional y Fuerzas Armadas...", Parte II, Art. 13.

¹⁰⁹ Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de la República Oriental del Uruguay, "Palabras del Señor Ministro ante la Comisión de Asuntos Internacionales," XLVI Legislatura, March 30, 2005. http://www.mrree.gub.uy/mrree/Prensa/Discursos/2005/Disc_Ministro_300305.htm.

¹¹⁰ Ulery, 1-2.

Due to historical tensions between the left and the armed forces in South America, it is possible that the new leftist regimes may produce a change in defense policy. Insofar as peacekeeping missions were first adopted as a military role under the previous neoliberal governments, this might lead the Uruguayan leftist government to reduce or change its level of participation in peacekeeping, especially due to the increment in Chapter VII-type operations. At least, in Uruguay, the left has emphasized that Chapter VII operations violate the principle of non-intervention in other countries' domestic affairs.

When the left took over the government in March 2005, it proclaimed the importance of regional integration, based on the Uruguayan Constitution.¹¹¹ In this regard, a document prepared by the Defense Committee of the Broad Front called *Defensa Nacional y Fuerzas Armadas* (National Defense and Armed Forces) stated that MERCOSUR (the Southern Cone regional trade agreement) should include the integration of defense policy and cooperation among the regional armed forces.¹¹² Today, this approach can also lead to a discussion concerning peacekeeping, insofar as the region has been a traditional contributor of UN peacekeeping troop. For example, by December 1996, nearly 10% of the UN peacekeeping troops came from Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay (all MERCOSUR members).¹¹³ Almost nine years later, in June 2005, MERCOSUR contributions were slightly above 8%, although the numbers of UN peacekeeping troop increased almost three times¹ during the same time period.¹¹⁴ Additionally, regional peacekeeping exercises begun during the nineties continued during

¹¹¹ "Defensa Nacional y Fuerzas Armadas," Art. II, 1.

¹¹² Ibid., Art. II, 7.

¹¹³ Antonio Palá, "Peacekeeping and its Effects...", 148.

¹¹⁴ "Ranking on Military and Civilian Police Contributions to UN Operations, Monthly Summary Contributors of Military and Civilian Police Personnel, Peacekeeping," United Nations, http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/contributors/2005/june2005_2.pdf (accessed August 12, 2005).

the twenties, and regional interoperability concerning peacekeeping operations improved over time.¹¹⁵

Although the regional impact on UN missions had increased, the current leftist government of Uruguay questioned the appropriateness of still being committed in Haiti, where Uruguayan troops were deployed with Argentineans, Brazilians and Chileans.¹¹⁶ What happened was that the Uruguayan leftist government inherited this mission from its predecessor. At that time, leftist members of parliament opposed the deployment of troops to Haiti, arguing that the Haitian conflict was a result of the U.S. having deposed a democratically elected president.¹¹⁷

From a Uruguayan perspective, post-September 11 times have to be divided into two stages: before and after the left took over the government in March 2005. Before the takeover, the traditional role of regional peacekeeping supplier allowed the Southern Cone military to improve regional interoperability through peacekeeping exercises. After March 2005, two independent variables, ideological identities in the region and advocacy for regional integration, caused the Uruguayan leftist government to include national defense and foreign policy issues in the regional agenda. This implies that a debate is needed to discuss regional consensus on peacekeeping standards.

N. THE URUGUAYAN LEFTIST GOVERNMENT AND THE NEED FOR A NATIONAL DEBATE ON THE DOMESTIC/BUREAUCRATIC LEVEL

On account of its role as a “peacekeeping supplier,” Uruguay created a specialized agency and the Army developed its own doctrine in accordance with UN standards. However, this doctrine has no close connection with the Uruguayan foreign policy in bureaucratic terms. When the *Partido Nacional* was in power, and the

¹¹⁵ “Durante 2004 Se Incrementaron Significativamente Los Ejercicios Militares Con Fuerzas Extranjeras,” Centro de Estudios Nueva Mayoría, <http://www.nuevamayoria.com/ES/INVESTIGACIONES/defense/041222a.html>. (accessed July 18, 2005). This study, which deals with the Argentine participation in military exercises with foreign armed forces, makes it possible to appreciate which regional countries participated. The evidence shows that more than one regional exercise on peacekeeping simulation was conducted per year.

¹¹⁶ “Uruguay Podría Abandonar Misión de Paz en Haití,” *El Observador*, April 9, 2005, page 25.

¹¹⁷ Poder Legislativo de la República Oriental del Uruguay, “Diario de Sesiones de la Cámara de Senadores de la República Oriental del Uruguay, Operaciones para el Mantenimiento de la Paz en Haití....” Also, María Urruzola, “Misiones de Paz y Fuerzas Armadas: Cuáles, Cuántas y Para Qué Objetivos,” Montevideo Comm, October 12, 2004, http://portal.montevideo.com.uy/newsportal/HNoticia_14464.html. (accessed May 12, 2005).

SINOMAPA was created in 1994, the government determined that the country would participate in peacekeeping operations insofar as a set of conditions were fulfilled: the parties in conflict had reached a peace agreement and had consented to the presence of UN troops, a UN Security Council Resolution was established and the peacekeeper countries were free to decide whether or not to send troops. According to Paul F. Diehl, all those conditions are characteristics of typical peacekeeping operations.¹¹⁸ Also, if all those conditions are satisfied, Bellamy, et al., consider those operations to be Chapter VI missions.¹¹⁹ Thus, Chapter VI operations were consistent with the traditional Uruguayan foreign policy.

However, years later, the Army went beyond those criteria when it included its viewpoint in the Uruguayan defense white book in early 2005. The Army seemed to be concerned with and interested in the evolution of peacekeeping. In the defense white book, the Army commented and made suggestions regarding the *Brahimi Report*.¹²⁰ As previously discussed, this report recognized a remarkable evolution of traditional peacekeeping and encouraged a drastic change in the concept by creating what became known as “robust peacekeeping,” which means using a “robust” force to make it possible to distinguish “victim from aggressor.”¹²¹ In particular, the Army has agreed that it is not currently conceivable to set up a UN peacekeeping mission under Chapter VI without considering its implications regarding Chapter VII.¹²² In this sense, the Army recognized that Uruguayan military forces deployed in future peacekeeping operations will face less restrictive rules of engagement regarding the use of force.¹²³ As a result, today’s Defense White Book does not seem to be a “state” document. Rather, it resembles the viewpoint

¹¹⁸ Diehl, 11-13.

¹¹⁹ Bellamy, et al., 46.

¹²⁰ Ministerio de Defensa Nacional de la República Oriental del Uruguay, “La Defensa Nacional,...,” 65.

¹²¹ “Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations,” paragraphs 1, 9. Also, Marc Lacey, “UN Forces Using Tougher Tactics to Secure Peace,” *New York Times*, May 23, 2005, <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/05/23/international/africa/23congo.html?pagewanted=p....> (accessed May 23, 2005).

¹²² Ministerio de Defensa Nacional de la República Oriental del Uruguay, “La Defensa Nacional,...,” 67.

¹²³ Ibid.

of the military. Although the Minister of Defense of the time prepared the preface of the book, neither he nor the *Partido Colorado*'s government attempted to call the book the "Defense White Book." Instead, the book was considered the basis for a national debate.¹²⁴

Furthermore, when the new leftist government took over the country in March 2005, it voiced its plan to hold a debate on national defense policy. Indeed, this is the first attempt to discuss military issues in a broader sense. That would mean the "end" of the military "laissez-faire," which had somehow become the tacit policy that marked Uruguayan civil-military relations under the historical parties' rule, and which had allowed the military to develop its own strategy for national defense in general and for peacekeeping in particular. In the matter of peacekeeping, the historical parties' governments did not formulate or debate an official "state policy" -they simply followed the suggestions made by the military. Additionally, the governments' reliance on what the military was willing to do accounted for a certain degree of politicization of the armed forces. In the past, this had caused a "clash" between the military and the left. This clash might worsen insofar as the Defense White Book includes an analysis on peacekeeping that is inconsistent with leftist political discourse. Even so, the book does not necessarily reflect the *Partido Colorado*'s government approach.

Consequently, the new leftist government wants to promote a national debate on national defense in order to establish a public or "state" policy. This position is established in the document prepared by the Defense Committee of the *Frente Amplio*.¹²⁵ The document also states that the armed forces should not be politicized, but rather, professionalized.¹²⁶ Perhaps the most important statement made in the document with regard to the military "laissez-faire" prohibits "parallel" friendships among the military in

¹²⁴ Ministerio de Defensa Nacional de la República Oriental del Uruguay, "La Defensa Nacional,...",¹⁵. Indeed, this book was written by a very narrow group of officers. Besides, it is based on a previous document, also called "**Basis** for a National Defense Policy" (emphasis added). What can be noticed is that the debate has not yet taken place.

¹²⁵ "Defensa Nacional y Fuerzas Armadas...", Part I, Art. 1.

¹²⁶ Ibid., Part I, Arts. 5, 6.

the international arena. In these cases, the government will establish with whom and what type of relationship will be allowed.¹²⁷

When the document deals with peacekeeping, opposing points of view between the leftist government and the military can be noted. If the government follows the guidelines on defense issues established in its party's document, it will not allow the military to be deployed in future peacekeeping operations. When dealing with peacekeeping, the document prepared by the Defense Committee of the *Frente Amplio* stresses the importance of observing the principles of non-intervention and self-determination.¹²⁸ As seen in the *Brahimi Report*, the UN foresees that future peacekeeping missions will be held under Chapter VII, whereby using force is authorized to fulfill the UN mandate. We also saw that the Uruguayan Army agreed with that approach and included this point of view in the Defense White Book. The leftist government has inherited that book, which clearly does not represent the "state" policy on that issue. Therefore, inconsistencies between the Army's approach (based on the Defense White Book) and the *Frente Amplio's* approach (based on the Defense Committee document) are noted. To clarify the leftist approach, the president of the Defense Committee said that the government would not be willing to participate in Chapter VII operations.¹²⁹ In addition, the current government itself also said that Uruguay would only take part in Chapter VI operations.¹³⁰

If the leftist government does not participate in UN Chapter VII operations, or worse, withdraws the troops which are now deployed under that chapter (DRC and Haiti), the military will probably blame the government for having deprived them of economic and professional benefits, which will have negative effects on civil-military relations. Following Desch's argument, Uruguay would be classified as a country under low

¹²⁷ "Defensa Nacional y Fuerzas Armadas,...," Part II, Arts. 4, 6.

¹²⁸ Ibid., Part I, Art. 9.

¹²⁹ "La Política Militar del Frente Amplio..."

¹³⁰ Yamandú Sala, "Nuevo Gobierno Participará en Misiones de Paz," Cooperación Portal Uruguay, January 11, 2005, <http://www.onunet.org.uy/modules.php?op=modload&name=News&file=article&sid=543> (accessed May 12, 2005).

internal and low external threats.¹³¹ This means that civil-military relations should not necessarily be bad, but they usually are unstable. Although peacekeeping is a way to make the military “externally-oriented,” which contributes to good civil-military relations, the determining factors that influence the relationship seem to be the different viewpoints concerning the use of force. Indeed, Desch argues that the divergence regarding the use of force and the nature of the international system undermine civilian control of the military.¹³² Therefore, analyzing the Uruguayan threat environment under Desch’s criteria, we find that in order to avoid embarrassing civil-military problems, the leftist government should support the deployment of troops under Chapter VII operations.¹³³

Recapitulating this analysis, during the historical parties’ governments, two independent variables, the evolution of peacekeeping and the military “laissez-faire,” caused the government to authorize the deployment of troops under Chapter VII. Now, under the current leftist rule, a debate on these issues was promised and is still pending. However, relying on the principles of non-intervention and self-determination “strictu sensu,” suitable for a “Westphalian world,” may make the current government restrict future participation of Uruguayan troops in peacekeeping operations. Additionally, the left may also disapprove of the commitment of forces to UN missions whenever it considers those missions inconsistent with its domestic discourse. If so, the left will need to weigh to what extent such a decision might undermine civil-military relations. This is important insofar as other points of the leftist political agenda, such as the investigation of human rights violations that took place during the dictatorship, are already eroding civil-military relations.

So, variables such as grass-roots foreign policy principles, the former military “laissez-faire” and the domestic discourse might influence the decision making process of the leftist government regarding the roles that Uruguayan armed forces should perform, especially concerning peacekeeping operations in support of the state’s foreign policy.

¹³¹ Desch, 116.

¹³² Ibid., 117.

¹³³ Ibid., 124.

Depending on the values those variables are given, different scenarios will represent the options the government can choose. Some of these options might develop into a “clash” of interests; others might be taken as a window of opportunity for both the government and the military to work together for the image of the country, to satisfy their goals and improve civil-military relations.

O. SUMMARY

The *Brahimi Report* had already been produced when the attacks of September 11, 2001, occurred. This report constituted a landmark for further peacekeeping operations, and made the UN adopt a new approach. The Army tried to be “in tune” with the main ideas outlined in the *Brahimi Report*. The possibility of using force was what most worried the Uruguayan authorities. In this regard, having considered the new UN approach and the Army’s willingness to be deployed, the Uruguayan government sent troops to missions where limited use of force was authorized. This issue resulted in the loss of domestic consensus on peacekeeping, especially between the historical political parties and the left.

At the regional level, Uruguay’s traditional role as supplier of peacekeeping troops facilitated the development of regional peacekeeping exercises. Once the left took over the government in March 2005, ideological affinity caused the leftist government to include defense and security issues in the regional agenda, with the possibility of achieving a consensus on peacekeeping.

At the domestic/bureaucratic level, during historical parties’ rule, the evolution of peacekeeping expressed in the *Brahimi Report* was closely followed by the Uruguayan military, especially the Army. This allowed the government to continue sending troops to further peacekeeping operations. Once the left took over, a debate on this issue was posed, but is still pending. The domestic political discourse and the traditional military “laissez-faire” will surely be the variables which influence the promised debate, which may have significant effects on civil-military relations. The issue might represent a window of opportunity for both the government and the military to work together towards achieving the desired goals.

Because the Uruguayan Armed Forces have been employed according to the “trend” (international and regional and domestic), they are now facing two separate options. On the one hand, it seems unlikely that the Uruguayan government will support the “international war on terror,” at least by committing forces to military operations overseas. On the other hand, the regional leftist trend opens a window of opportunity to create a regional approach towards peacekeeping. The issue is to what extent ideological affinity in the region will trump rooted nationalism, which traditionally has undermined the integration process. Thus, the possibility of creating a regional force or agreeing on regional standards regarding future peacekeeping operations is the main topic of the next chapter.

III: ARMED FORCES IN THE LATIN AMERICAN SOUTHERN CONE - FROM CHECKERBOARD PIECES TO PEACEKEEPING PARTNERS?

The peoples of South America are closely united by links of nature and reciprocal interests.

General José Artigas (Father of the Independence of Uruguay)¹³⁴

The ideological affinity in the Southern Cone of Latin America (Kirchner in Argentina; Lula in Brazil; Lagos in Chile; Vázquez in Uruguay) can be seen as an opportunity to agree on common interests to include in the regional agenda. The purpose of such agreement should be the formation of a bloc in other areas of interests, besides economics. The region has already created an economic arrangement (MERCOSUR). After more than ten years of life, it seems that the agreement should extend to other issues to reinforce the position of the bloc in the international arena. One of those areas of interest is peacekeeping. This chapter analyzes to what extent political bases exist in the region for a peacekeeping partnership. Although Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay have been working together on a UN mission in Haiti, the current leftist government of Uruguay questions the appropriateness of still being deployed in that mission, insofar as the economic aid to Haiti promised by the UN has not yet been delivered.¹³⁵

Does the rise of leftist regimes in the Southern Cone of Latin America create conditions for a successful peacekeeping partnership? I argue that the current political “trend” in the region may have created an opportunity for the countries to become peacekeeping partners, but conditions are not currently sufficient to bring about such an agreement. Other issues such as coherent foreign and defense policies are extremely important. Although peacekeeping seems to be the common point on the regional security agenda, there have been no decisive steps taken towards the creation of a “regional force” or even a consensus about common standards or criteria regarding the commitment of troops to peacekeeping operations. The primary issue is whether or not to deploy troops

¹³⁴ Translation is mine.

¹³⁵ “Uruguay Podría Abandonar Misión de Paz en Haití,” *El Observador*, April 9, 2005, page 25.

under Chapter VII operations. Different approaches and different interests can be noted in the Southern Cone of Latin America in that regard. The remainder of this Chapter explores whether or not Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay enjoy compatible conditions, besides common ideology, either to create a regional peacekeeping force or to agree on regional standards for a peacekeeping partnership.



Figure 3. Countries of the Southern Cone.

A. THE SOUTHERN CONE ANALYSIS

Historically, Argentina, Brazil and Chile (what became known as the “ABC” countries) have tried to balance one another. They were the most powerful countries in South America in military terms. After a decades-long arms race and a search for balance of power among the ABC countries, Philip Kelly’s “checkerboards” weakened. According to Kelly, checkerboards were geopolitical arrangements whereby powerful

states aligned against their immediate neighbors.¹³⁶ Checkerboards were multipolar balance of power systems that provided regional equilibrium.¹³⁷ Figure 3 shows that during the Cold War, this model allowed Brazil, Chile and Colombia to align against Argentina, Peru and Venezuela.¹³⁸ Checkerboards avoided escalation to violence thanks to the presence of “buffer states” (Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia and Ecuador), which were smaller countries located between powerful countries.¹³⁹

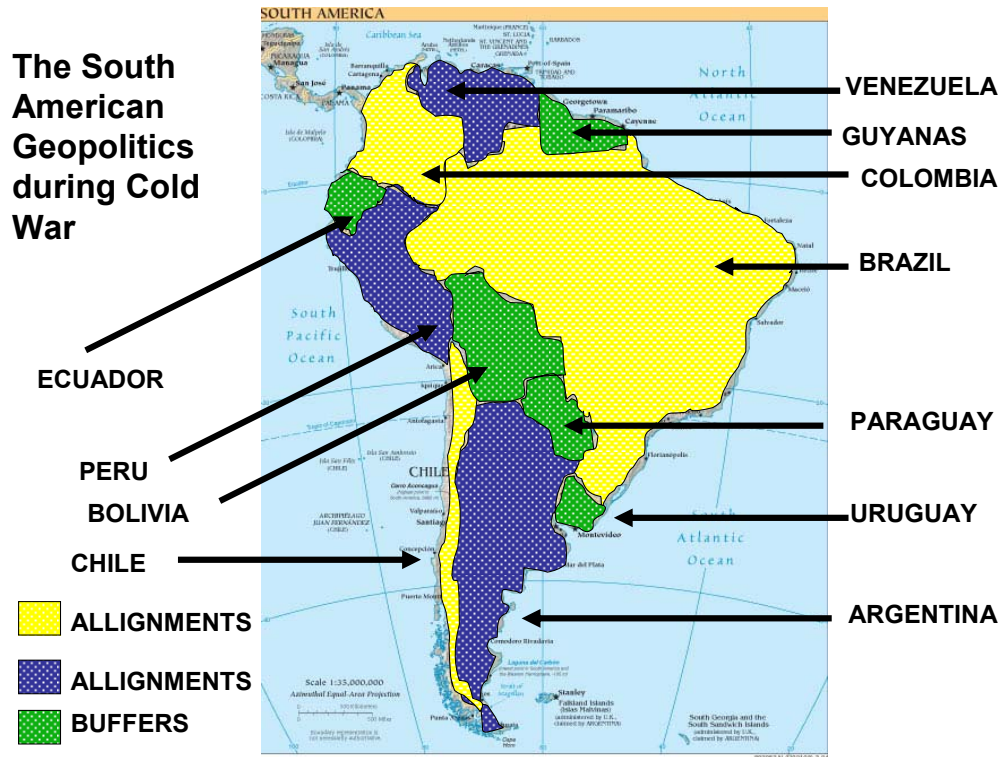


Figure 4. Phillip Kelly's Checkerboards (After: Kelly).

This model began to decline when the “third wave of democracy” swept across the region. After the Cold War, confidence measures seem to have substituted former rivalries among the ABC countries. In addition, Uruguay was no longer seen as a “buffer

¹³⁶ Phillip Kelly, *Checkerboards & Shatterbelts, the Geopolitics of South America* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1997), 36-37.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Ibid. 37-38.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 39.

state.”¹⁴⁰ Instead, it was considered essential to any integration process due to its geographic situation, its observance of international law and its democratic tradition. Accordingly, Uruguay and the ABC countries are members of the MERCOSUR trade agreement (although Chile is not yet a full member).

Participation in peacekeeping has had two important effects on consolidation of democracy in the region. On the one hand, peacekeeping has allowed “third wave” democratic countries to improve their images in the international arena, showing commitment to the observance of international law, peace and international security. On the other hand, peacekeeping has kept the military from being involved in domestic affairs.¹⁴¹ Currently, the Southern Cone’s picture shows that all ABC countries and Uruguay are committed to peacekeeping and all share leftist ideals. They are now the Latin American countries that contribute the most to UN peacekeeping. In fact, 86% of the Latin American contribution to peacekeeping comes from Uruguay, Argentina, Brazil and Chile.¹⁴² Therefore, these countries have sound reasons to discuss common peacekeeping concerns. Indeed, they are important stakeholders in the UN peacekeeping system and its evolution.

In order to explore the political bases for a peacekeeping partnership in the region, we should analyze each country’s approach in light of specifically selected variables. These variables are 1) coherent foreign and defense policies, 2) approach to peacekeeping and 3) regional security issues. Indicators such as the pursuit of the country’s interests versus the importance placed on regional integration, and working towards improving the country’s leverage in the international arena reflect coherent foreign and defense policies on both regional and international levels. In addition, an expressed commitment to peace

¹⁴⁰ Kelly, 39.

¹⁴¹ Michael Desch, *Civilian Control of the Military, the Changing Security Environment* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 2001), 122.

¹⁴² “Ranking of Military and Civilian Police Contributions to UN Operations,” United Nations, http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/contributors/2005/july2005_2.pdf (accessed August 12, 2005). At first glance, it can be said that this high percentage of contribution to UN peacekeeping is due to the size and population of Brazil and Argentina. However, a small country such as Uruguay is the major Latin American contributor to UN troops. On the other hand, countries with large populations such as Peru and Guatemala have less significant participation. Likewise, Mexico and Venezuela, which together represent two-thirds of the Brazilian population, do not participate in UN peacekeeping.

and international security, a willingness to participate in Chapter VII peacekeeping operations and acceptance of the primary tenets of the UN documents *An Agenda for Peace* and the *Brahimi Report* clarify each country's approach in regard to peacekeeping. Finally, compliance with decisions made on regional security issues (such as presidential declarations) and participation in multinational military exercises and Ministers of Defense meetings are indications of each country's willingness to explore possibilities related to a peacekeeping partnership. Figure 5 shows how the three main variables interact in the regional arena, the domain of regional organizations. It can be seen that intersection of the three variables creates a small shared area, which can make a peacekeeping partnership possible.

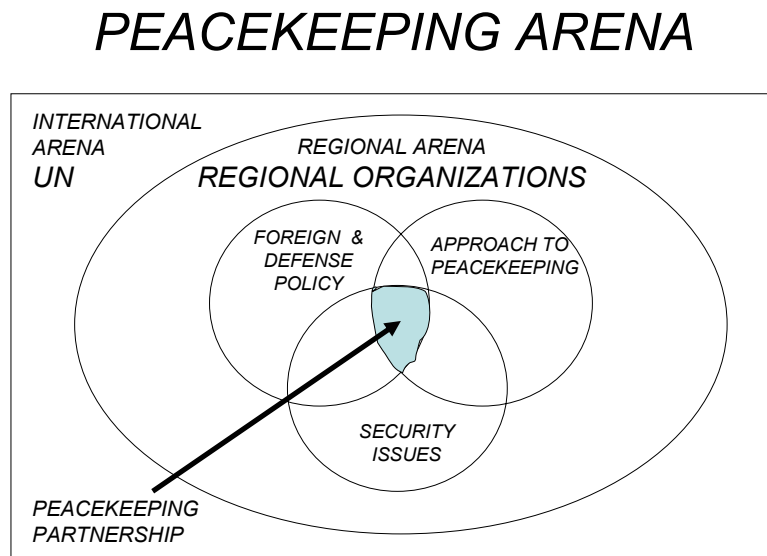


Figure 5. Criteria for a Peacekeeping Partnership.

This Chapter presents a detailed analysis of the Southern Cone countries, highlighting the variables that might make a peacekeeping partnership possible.

B. COHERENT FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICIES

1. Brazil

In the aftermath of the Cold War, Brazilian defense policy reflected a deep concern about domestic affairs. In 1992, an Army General said, at the *Escuela Superior*

de Guerra (Superior War School), that his country did not have enemies among its ten neighbors. He expressed that what worried the Brazilian Army was taking care of the needs of the 150 million Brazilians.¹⁴³ This means that the Army was committed to the development of the country. A little more than ten years later, in 2003, President Lula launched his government plan, known as *Fome Zero*.¹⁴⁴

Since Lula took over, Brazil has been trying to improve its role as a regional leader.¹⁴⁵ However, this feeling of “manifest destiny” is not new. Two things account for today’s Brazilian predominance: first, the end of the Cold War and second, Argentina’s retreat from the “race” at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Since the constraints of the Cold War disappeared, and once Argentina took a back seat in the region following the 2001 economic crisis, Brazil has felt free to build its own destiny. In this regard, it has argued for the improvement of MERCOSUR economic outcomes before making any further attempt to increase the range of the treaty. By leading the regional economic integration, Brazil has tried to act as a “consensus builder” between North and South.¹⁴⁶

Moreover, Brazil has experienced great coherence between foreign and defense policies.

Concerning foreign policy, its traditional principles have been non-intervention, defense of equal sovereignty of states and respect for the international legal system.¹⁴⁷ Regarding defense policy, Brazil does not have a “Defense White Book.” Instead, Brazil has created a “White Paper” outlining the main aspects of its defense policy. One of the objectives stated in this paper is to “enable the country to become more involved in the

¹⁴³ Marcela Donadío, “Integración y Defensa Nacional en el Cono Sur,” *SER en el 2000*, No. 8, Octubre 1995: 6, <http://www.ser2000.org.ar/articulos-revista-8/marce8.htm>.

¹⁴⁴ “Zero Fome, Lula’s Zero Hunger Program,” Brazilbrazil.com, <http://www.brazilbrazil.com/fome.html>. (accessed August 15, 2005). Fome zero means zero hunger.

¹⁴⁵ Monica Herz, “Brazilian Foreign Policy and the Pax Americana.” Paper presented at the “Conference on East Asia, Latin America and the New Pax Americana,” Institute of International Relations-PUC-Rio, February, 2003, 4, 6, <http://www.wcfia.harvard.edu/conferences/intlconfoneasia/Papers/Herzpapernew.pdf>.

¹⁴⁶ Mónica Hirst, “Security Policies, Democratization, and Regional Integration in the Southern Cone,” in *International Security and Democracy, Latin America and The Caribbean in the Post-Cold War Era*, ed. Jorge I. Domínguez (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1998), 111.

¹⁴⁷ Herz, 10.

international decision-making process.”¹⁴⁸ Further, the defense policy emphasizes the importance of improving Brazilian negotiating capability in the international arena.¹⁴⁹ Finally, Brazil is also concerned with the preservation of international peace and security.¹⁵⁰ Hence, foreign policy principles, in addition to national defense objectives, have allowed Brazil to claim a permanent seat on the UN Security Council. In this sense, aside from Japan, Brazil has been the longest serving UN Security Council non-permanent member (eight years).¹⁵¹

In short, Brazil favors regional integration; but it does so as a means to achieve its most important interests, the improvement of the country’s leverage in the international arena.

2. Argentina

The Argentine “honeymoon” with the U.S. during the 1990s allowed the country to enjoy the privileges of being considered a “major non-NATO U.S. ally.”¹⁵² In those times, Argentina developed its *Libro Blanco de la Defensa* (Defense White Book). In this document, Argentina stated the importance of integrating defense and security issues into the MERCOSUR agenda.¹⁵³ Nevertheless, during the economic crisis that occurred between 2001 and 2003, Argentina allowed Brazil to become the regional leader. For example, while Argentina had decommissioned its aircraft carrier due to budget

¹⁴⁸ “Federative Republic of Brazil, National Defense Policy,” Organization of the American States, Art.3.3 f., <http://www.oas.org/csh/english/docwhitepapers%20Brasil.asp>. (accessed August 15, 2005).

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., Art. 5.1.c.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., Art. 3.3.g.

¹⁵¹ Herz, 11.

¹⁵² Heber C. Huser, “Democratic Argentina's "Global Reach": The Argentine Military in Peacekeeping Operations,” *Naval War College Review* 51, no. 3 (Summer 1998): 67, <http://libproxy.nps.navy.mil/login?url=http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?did=30843992&sid=1&Fmt=4&clientId=11969&RQT=309&VName=PQD>. In October 1997, during a visit to Argentina, former U.S. President Clinton designated that country as “major-non NATO U.S. ally” on account of its commitment to the First Gulf War, the intervention in Haiti and in the Balkans conflict.

¹⁵³ Ministerio de Defensa Nacional de la República Argentina, “Libro Blanco de la República Argentina,” 29, http://www.mindef.gov.ar/secciones/libro_blanco/libro%20blanco%20de%20defensa.doc (accessed August 15, 2005).

constraints, Brazil incorporated a large new aircraft carrier, which made possible the “rebirth” of its fixed-wing naval aviation component, suppressed half a century ago.¹⁵⁴

When the political change occurred in 2003, because of the failure of the neoliberal economic model, Argentina reviewed its Defense White Book. Politicians, military representatives and scholars debated foreign and national defense policies.¹⁵⁵ One of the objectives was to identify what role the armed forces and the national defense policy should play in support of a democratic Argentina. Among the most relevant input from the former Defense White Book was the commitment to regional integration and the importance of being inserted into the current world context by non-confrontational means.¹⁵⁶ A concluding statement from the Defense White Book expresses that the current context constitutes an opportunity for improving Argentina’s leverage in the region, both in the southern hemisphere and in the international arena.¹⁵⁷

Through these levels of commitment, Argentina developed three strategies. On the regional level, the country is willing to incorporate cooperative security issues in the realm of MERCOSUR.¹⁵⁸ This means that each MERCOSUR member should play a specific role in the regional security agenda, all working towards the “common good.” It also means that MERCOSUR members should agree to adopt standard military equipment, thereby taking advantage of regional military industrial capabilities. For instance, Brazil-made tanks might be the ones adopted by MERCOSUR members’ armies. The same thing would occur with Argentina-made light aircraft. In this regard, a

¹⁵⁴ At present, Brazil is the only country in the entire Southern Hemisphere of the planet which operates an aircraft carrier. This fact has no apparent link to defense policy.

¹⁵⁵ Ministerio de Defensa Nacional de la República Argentina, “La Defensa Nacional en la Agenda Democrática, Informe de la Primera Ronda de Discusiones, 2003” August 6, 2003, <http://66.102.7.104/search?q=cache:hETKT5yR8VsJ:www.mindef.gov.ar/secciones/documentos/Proyecto%2520La%2520Defensa%2520Nacional%2520en%2520la%2520Agenda%2520Democr%25E1tica.doc+La+Defensa+Nacional+en+la+Agenda+Democr%C3%A1tica&hl=en>. Almost two hundred people from different extractions such as, governmental officials, politicians, scholars, policymakers, political scientists, civil and military academic institutions and members of the armed forces participated in the first discussion round about national defense policy and armed forces in the context of a democratic Argentina.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 17, 19, <http://www.mindef.gov.ar/secciones/documentos/Proyecto%20La%20Defensa%20Nacional%20en%20la%20Agenda%20Democr%E1tica.doc> (accessed August 15, 2005).

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 19.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 20, 21.

survey conducted in Argentina in 2002 indicated that 48% of the population and 55% of the opinion leaders were willing to create a military alliance in the realm of MERCOSUR.¹⁵⁹ Indeed, as part of the 2004 “State of the Nation,” the Ministry of Defense stated that one of its objectives was to promote and develop a regional defense system as a means to “boost” national capabilities. The end goal is to design a common defense policy for the region.¹⁶⁰ This approach could serve as the basis for a consensus on similar criteria for peacekeeping.

Argentina is willing to strengthen and reframe the hemispheric defense system, which includes the TIAR, the Inter-American Defense Board and the Inter-American Ministers of Defense meetings.¹⁶¹ This approach is inconsistent with the Argentine domestic political discourse. However, it demonstrates that the country has been slowly changing its position about Brazil’s leadership. In my opinion, for Argentina, strong and reframed inter-American institutions could operate as “buffers” against Brazilian efforts to become the Latin American hegemon. In any case, the reasons for this expressed commitment to the hemispheric organizations are unclear in light of the domestic political trend.

At the international level, Argentina has stated the importance of preserving peace and international security.¹⁶² Preserving peace and security means supporting the UN collective security system, which implies participation in peacekeeping operations. In short, Argentina wants to improve regional integration in a broader sense than Brazil because this goal will not compete against the country’s interests.

¹⁵⁹ Sebastián Vigliero, “Política de Defensa y Relaciones Cívico-Militares en Argentina: Herramientas para la Inserción del País en el Mundo,” *Argentina Global*, no. 15 (Septiembre-Diciembre 2004): 4, <http://www.geocities.com/globargentin/Vigl02.html?200518>.

¹⁶⁰ Ministerio de Defensa Nacional de la República Argentina, “Memoria detallada del Estado de la Nación 2004,” 51, http://www.jgm.gov.ar/Paginas/MemoriaDetallada04/04_Ministerio_de_%20Defensa.pdf.

¹⁶¹ Ministerio de Defensa Nacional de la República Argentina, “La Defensa Nacional en...,” 20. Also Vigliero, 18.

¹⁶² Ministerio de Defensa Nacional de la República Argentina, “La Defensa Nacional en...,” 17.

3. Chile

In the case of Chile, the current Minister of Defense stated that Latin Americans have been capable of cooperation when common criteria were established.¹⁶³ This statement was made in a seminar about “strategic opportunities,” in which defense and security issues were considered as possible areas of cooperation within the region. Chile’s concept of cooperation on security issues is similar to the Argentine approach. But, if we follow the Chilean argument, the problem is identifying common criteria. For example, Chile emphasizes the creation of complementary security regimes rather than reframing the TIAR.¹⁶⁴ Moreover, compared to other MERCOSUR members, in its *Libro de la Defensa Nacional de Chile* (Defense White Book), Chile considers itself at risk of experiencing future border conflicts. In this sense, Chile still analyzes the geopolitics of the region to determine how it can improve its power in the region in defense of its interests. It developed a geopolitical approach applied to the sea, known as *Oceanopolítica* (Oceanpolitics), which considers the sea as a space where the coastal state should expand and project its influence.¹⁶⁵ In this regard, Chile designed its theory of *Mar Presencial* (Presence Sea), by which the country claims the right to monitor what happens in an area extended to 450 nautical miles off the Chilean coast.

Although Chile expresses its desires to maintain a peaceful status quo with its neighbors, a review of the country’s Defense White Book makes it clear that this situation remains peaceful only insofar as no one tries to challenge the Chilean border argument.¹⁶⁶ Chile has unsolved issues with Argentina in the southern region. In the north, the boundary of the economic exclusive zone, beyond the territorial sea, has been a source of disagreement between Chile and Peru.

¹⁶³ Jaime Ravinet De La Fuente, “La Seguridad Global y Regional como una Oportunidad en América Latina.” Dissertation at the Seminar “Strategic Opportunities: Charting New Approaches to Defense and Security Challenges in the Western Hemisphere,” Miami, Florida, 2005, 19.
http://lacc.fiu.edu/events_outreach/AWC_05/Jaime_Ravinet.doc.

¹⁶⁴ Ministerio de Defensa de la República de Chile, “Book of the National Defense of Chile,” 2002, 38, http://www.defensa.cl/paginas/public/libro_2002/ingles/Part%20II.pdf (accessed August 15, 2005).

¹⁶⁵ Jorge Martínez Busch, “La Pesca en el Mar Presencial.” Dissertation at the Seminar “La Pesca en el Mar Presencial y los Derechos del Estado Rector del Puerto,” Santiago, Chile, March 28, 2000.
http://www.ugm.cl/pacifico/seminarios/pesca_marpres.htm.

¹⁶⁶ Ministerio de Defensa de la República de Chile, “Book of the National...,” 45, 50, http://www.defensa.cl/paginas/public/libro_2002/ingles/Part%20II.pdf (accessed, August 15, 2005).

Following the same approach, Chile stated in its Defense White Book that it “does not hold any aggressive intentions towards any country in the world.”¹⁶⁷ However, if we compare this statement with Argentina’s stated policy, and as we will see, with the case of Uruguay, there is a clear difference. While Argentina’s expressed policy consists of inserting the country in the current context by “non-confrontational means,” Chile’s policy states that it has no aggressive “intentions” towards anyone. The problem in dealing with “intentions” is that they can be interpreted in different ways. Perception is what matters about intentions. What Chile considers a non-aggressive action in defense of its interests may not be viewed in the same light by its neighbors. Thus, it is not enough to merely say that Chile has no aggressive “intentions.” Neighboring countries will determine whether a Chilean action is aggressive based in their perception of that action. I think this subtle difference arises from the ambiguity in the text and from Chilean historical antecedents.¹⁶⁸

Amongst the ABC countries, Chile does not demand important structural changes in the international security or regional organizations. In contrast, Brazil is claiming a permanent seat on the UN Security Council and its relationship with the U.S. has seen better moments. Argentina seems to have decided not to let Brazil become the unquestionable regional leader and to recover its influence in the region by demanding changes in the hemispheric security arrangements, while still enjoying its status as a major non-NATO U.S. ally.¹⁶⁹ Chile, which maintains very healthy relations with the U.S., still hesitates to fully join MERCOSUR. According to Fernando Thauby García, Chile should find its role as a “pivotal state” capable of being the link between the region

¹⁶⁷ Ministerio de Defensa de la República de Chile, “Book of the National...,” 53, http://www.defensa.cl/paginas/public/libro_2002/ingles/Part%20III.pdf (accessed, August 15, 2005).

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 50, http://www.defensa.cl/paginas/public/libro_2002/ingles/Part%20II.pdf (accessed, August 15, 2005). The point is that while Chile expresses its non-aggressive intentions the White Defense Book also states that “While it is true that the magnitude and length of Chile’s land, ocean and air borders offer potential for integration and development, they also increase the potential for conflict because, as they enhance the relations and diverse types of contacts, they also present more opportunities to increase the potential for disagreements that can lead to crises and conflict situations when states have opposing interests.”

¹⁶⁹ At present, although this status is essentially symbolic it still has an important practical effect. Argentina is the only South American country whose U.S. military assistance has not been suspended for refusing to conclude a bilateral immunity agreement for U.S. personnel under the provisions of Article 98 of the International Criminal Court.

and the rest of the world.¹⁷⁰ As a result, Chile is headed towards achieving one of its national objectives: to enhance the country's "international projection."¹⁷¹ In short, Chile's interests are enhanced above regional integration and it does not want to be constrained in that regard.

4. Uruguay

In Uruguay, the leftist government has not yet made any "official" attempt to modify the current situation regarding coherent foreign and defense policies. Traditional Uruguayan foreign policies of non-intervention, self-determination and peaceful resolution of controversies still apply. A distinct process of state formation (compared to the rest of Latin America) laid the basis for those principles. Open to international trade since its independence and unwilling to participate in the regionalization of domestic conflicts,¹⁷² Uruguay used to withdraw from the regional context.¹⁷³ By avoiding participation in neighboring countries' domestic affairs and interacting with the rest of the world as an independent actor without regional constraints, Uruguay has projected a peaceful image to the international arena, an image supported by the observance of international law. Uruguayan foreign policy principles of non-intervention, self-determination and peaceful resolution of controversies have characterized the country throughout time, regardless of which political party was in power. By contrast, no national defense policy had been developed, except for a few academic works nobody ever seriously considered, and some interesting proposals, which did not prosper due to political or economic reasons. As a result, the Uruguayan Armed Forces have operated under the traditional foreign policy principles, but without any guidance on what role they should play as a useful tool in support of the country's foreign policy.

¹⁷⁰ Fernando Thauby García, "Inserción Internacional de Chile, Elementos y Opciones," *Revista de Marina* 115/839, no. 4 (Julio-Agosto 1997): 10, <http://www.revistamarina.cl/revistas/1997/4/thauby.pdf>

¹⁷¹ Ministerio de Defensa de la República de Chile, "Book of the National...", 17, http://www.defensa.cl/paginas/public/libro_2002/ingles/Part%20I.pdf. (accessed, August 15, 2005).

¹⁷² The counter-argument of the Uruguayan participation in the "Triple Alliance War" was not considered because that conflict (1839-1851) had taken place before Uruguay completed its state formation process, which effectively occurred by the end of the nineteenth century.

¹⁷³ Lincoln Bizzozero, "Uruguayan Foreign Policies in the 1990s: Continuities and Changes with a View to Recent Regionalisms" in *National Perspectives on the New Regionalism in the South*, ed. Björn Hettne, Andrés Inotai and Osvaldo Sunkel (Helsinki, London: United Nations University, World Institute for Development Economics Research, St. Martin's Press, 2000), 177-198.

However, shortly before the 2004 elections, the Defense Committee of the *Frente Amplio* prepared a document on national defense and the armed forces. When the *Frente Amplio* took over in March 2005, that paper became the basis for a national defense policy. The document declares that Uruguay does not have enemies among any people or state. It also states that Uruguayan foreign affairs are based on cooperative relationships with other states, in particular within the Latin American region.¹⁷⁴ In addition, the paper favors the strengthening military links within the South American region, in direct opposition to the hegemonic vision of the U.S. and its hemispheric defense system.¹⁷⁵ Then the paper adds that the *Frente Amplio* opposes the U.S.-led Inter-American military system.¹⁷⁶ Although the Uruguayan government has not yet taken any important step regarding policy-making on those issues, these statements represent the *Frente Amplio*'s position on foreign and defense policy issues.

Compared to the ABC countries, the Uruguayan approach appears to be the most radical of the Southern Cone, although the Brazilian approach seems to be stronger due to its greater power and the implications of its demands. The Argentinean approach is more cautious and the Chilean approach is at odds with the Uruguayan.

Moreover, the *Frente Amplio*'s document promotes the inclusion of military and security issues within the MERCOSUR agenda, pursuing cooperation among the armed forces of the region.¹⁷⁷ In addition, the document refers to the Uruguayan Constitution when it promotes integration among Latin American states, all of whom would benefit from coordinated and integrated development of public services in the region.¹⁷⁸ These statements are wholly consistent with the Argentine approach towards cooperative

¹⁷⁴ "Defensa Nacional y Fuerzas Armadas en la República Oriental del Uruguay," (Montevideo, Comisión Permanente de Defensa del Frente Amplio, *Ámbito de Trabajo*, 2004, e-mail communiqué on July 11, 2005), II, Art.1.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., Parte I, Art.3. The statements of this part, which in fact corresponds to the proceedings carried out at the IV° Congreso Extraordinario "Héctor Rodríguez," in December, 2003, were ratified by the meeting called *Ámbito de Trabajo*, 2004, and constitutes an attached annex to the *Ámbito de Trabajo*, 2004's main document.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., II, Art.5.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., I I, Arts.7, 8.

¹⁷⁸ Poder Legislativo de la República Oriental del Uruguay, "Constitución de la República Oriental del Uruguay," Art. 6. <http://www.parlamento.gub.uy/palacio3/index.htm>.

security and somewhat consistent with the Chilean argument about successful cooperation when common criteria are agreed upon. But, while Argentina is promoting a cooperative security system by reframing the existent regional organizations (TIAR, OAS, MERCOSUR), Chile is less clear and seems to demand the creation of complementary defense and security organizations.

One of the problems in the Southern Cone region about including security issues in MERCOSUR is that Chile has not yet become a full MERCOSUR member. Brazil argues that before moving towards regional military agreements, consolidation of economic integration through MERCOSUR is required. However, while the Uruguayan document demands regional integration, it also argues that each country has the right to establish its own defense agenda based on its interests and threat perception.¹⁷⁹

According to Helio Jaguaribe, the success of MERCOSUR depends, among other factors, on each member's autonomous project.¹⁸⁰ This approach conspires against any "supra-national" effort. Although this concept was discussed in 2002, we can find similarities with the *Frente Amplio's* 2004 document concerning defense and security issues. In this particular case, the Uruguayan "independent" viewpoint about establishing its own defense agenda is similar to the Chilean viewpoint. Hence, we see that all countries have different perspectives about the same problem. Although they all talk about some kind of integration of defense and security issues, it is difficult to establish regional standards to achieve that goal.

Moreover, a book written under the historical parties' rule called *La Defensa Nacional, Aportes para un Debate* (Defense White Book) states that Uruguay's objective is to deepen cooperative relations among MERCOSUR members and to contribute to peace and international security.¹⁸¹ However, because the new Uruguayan government has been in power for only six months, they have not yet had time to review the Defense White Book, as Argentina was able to do in 2004, when a large number of stakeholders

¹⁷⁹ "Defensa Nacional y Fuerzas Armadas...", II, Art.6.

¹⁸⁰ Helio Jaguaribe, "El Mercosur y el Nuevo Orden Mundial." Dissertation at Instituto de Estudios Políticos y Sociales, Montevideo, August, 2002, 6, <http://www.mrree.gub.uy/mrree/lase/Actividades/conferencias/mercosur.pdf>.

¹⁸¹ Ministerio de Defensa Nacional de la República Oriental del Uruguay, "La Defensa Nacional, Aportes para un Debate," 57. <http://www.mdn.gub.uy/paginas/libro.asp> (accessed August 15, 2005).

(if not all) took part in the discussion. Although the Uruguayan Defense White Book is still considered a “working paper” and is open to debate, it was written by a narrow circle of military elites who did not always work together. A national debate on defense policy has not yet occurred. In the past, leadership of the historical parties did not seem very interested in dealing with national defense policy. Today, the current leftist government is more worried about investigating human rights violations that occurred during the dictatorship than in debating national defense policy.

Furthermore, one of the key differences between the leftist government and its political party and the historical parties concerning national defense and security issues emphasizes the existence of two “parallel diplomacies”: one is the formal “political” diplomacy and the other is the informal “military” diplomacy. For the leftist government, years of military laissez-faire under the historical parties’ rule allowed them to establish close links with other militaries in the region and with the U.S., which, most of the time, occurred without any guidance from civilian authorities.¹⁸²

In short, because this is the first time such a political change has occurred in Uruguay, the country has not yet made a clear connection between traditional foreign policy and the new approach the leftist government is willing to embrace regarding defense policy. Concerning regional integration versus national interests, it seems that Uruguay wants to go back to its former “buffer” role in the region because it has not yet assigned clear priorities between regional integration and the domestic agenda in defense and security issues. Figure 6 summarizes the regional situation concerning coherent foreign and defense policies.

¹⁸² “Defensa Nacional y Fuerzas Armadas...,” II, Art.4.

Foreign & Defense Policies

 **REGIONAL LEADERSHIP**

 **REGAIN PRESTIGE**

CHILE

 **PROJECT POWER**

 **NON- INTERVENTION MULTILATERALISM**



Figure 6. Main Objectives of the Foreign and Defense Policy.

C. APPROACH TO PEACEKEEPING

1. Brazil

Although Brazil is also concerned with the preservation of international peace and security,¹⁸³ its policy after the Cold War was to refrain from participating in Chapter VII operations.¹⁸⁴ These missions were considered at odds with the traditional foreign policy principles of non-intervention, defense of equal sovereignty of states and respect for the international legal system.¹⁸⁵ According to the “White Paper on National Defense,” Brazil has weighed its participation in peacekeeping in light of its interests,¹⁸⁶ especially

¹⁸³ “Federative Republic of Brazil...,” Art.3.3 f.

¹⁸⁴ Donadío, 6.

¹⁸⁵ Herz, 10.

¹⁸⁶ “Federative Republic of Brazil...,” Art.5.1.e.

concerning the improvement of MERCOSUR.¹⁸⁷ Because of its leadership in the region and its role as a consensus builder, addressing peacekeeping under a regional approach implies that Brazil would play the “major power” role.

Belief in its bargaining skills is one of the arguments Brazil cites in support of its bid for a permanent seat on the UN Security Council. Brazil believes its participation on the Council would improve the diplomatic and peaceful means for preserving peace and international security and could shift the focus away from the coercive approach the Council seems to have taken lately.¹⁸⁸ In this regard, Brazil has been worried about the increasing number of peacekeeping operations established by the UN under Chapter VII.¹⁸⁹ Because it was critical of both UN documents *An Agenda for Peace* and the *Brahimi Report*, Brazil has chosen to not participate in peacekeeping efforts when they seem to go along with the “hegemonic interests” of other powers.¹⁹⁰

Nevertheless, to buttress its aspirations, Brazil has had to resume committing troops to peacekeeping missions as it is doing now in Haiti, where a Brazilian general commands the UN military forces. In this sense, if we analyze the latest operations in which Brazil participated, it is possible to infer that Brazil always wanted command of the peacekeeping missions, as happened in Angola, Mozambique and in the current operation in Haiti. Brazil seems to be less interested in sending troops, although it has done so. With fewer troops on the ground than other countries, either within or outside the region (Uruguay, India), Brazil usually has access to better command positions when it becomes involved in peacekeeping operations. Brazil achieves these positions by pressuring the UN bureaucracy.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁷ Ricardo Sennes, Janina Onuki, and Amâncio Jorge de Oliveira, “La Política Exterior Brasileña y la Seguridad Hemisférica,” *Revista Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad*, 18, no. 3-4, (Julio-Diciembre 2004), 23, <http://www.fasoc.cl/files/articulo/ART41f69fdb82038.pdf>.

¹⁸⁸ Herz., 11-12.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 14.

¹⁹⁰ Donadío, 7.

¹⁹¹ Juan Rial, e-mail message on July 20, 2005. Juan Rial is a Uruguayan Political Scientist who has worked as UN, OSCE and IDEA International Advisor. He has also worked as Coordinator for Civil Military Relations for the Latin American Project developed by the American University and PEITHO.

For Brazil, commanding the UN multinational peacekeeping force deployed in Haiti is a sign of commitment to regional security issues. In that regard, Brazil also accepts the involvement of regional organizations to ensure peace and security within a region, as in the case of the OAS in Latin America. Brazil is willing to do so as long as a mission is established in accordance with Chapter VIII of the UN Charter.¹⁹² This is because Brazil is concerned about the increasing involvement of regional organizations without the consent of the UN Security Council. In my opinion, this position can be interpreted in two ways. First, Brazil does not want to undermine the UN Security Council's role in these affairs (an organ Brazil is trying to join). Second and most important, it is likely that any OAS involvement in regional security issues will depend on Brazilian participation.

In this sense, Evergisto De Vergara¹⁹³ claims that many Latin American countries lack sufficient resources to carry out peacekeeping. If that is an accurate assessment, extra-regional aid would be needed. However, according to De Vergara, this aid must not derive from the involvement of an extra-regional power playing a leading role within the region.¹⁹⁴ As a result, for peacekeeping to succeed within the Latin American context, it is required that the major regional power be involved. In short, Brazil does not want to participate in Chapter VII operations, although it is increasing its commitment to peacekeeping to support its claims for a permanent seat on the UN Security Council. As a regional leader, Brazil pursues the commands of UN missions, so it is against any extra-regional leadership in peacekeeping.

2. Argentina

Argentina used to have a more daring approach. It collaborated with the U.S. in the First Gulf War in 1990-1991 and in the operation in Haiti in 1994. Then, in 1992, Argentina sent a battalion to the UN protection force (UNPROFOR) sent to the conflict

¹⁹² Herz, 12. The main point here is that Chapter VIII prescribes the involvement of regional organizations to preserve peace and security under UN Security Council's authorization.

¹⁹³ Evergisto De Vergara is a retired general, who was the first Argentine military officer to have an entire UN "blue helmet" mission force under his command (UNFICYP, UN mission in Cyprus).

¹⁹⁴ Evergisto De Vergara, "¿Sumados, o divididos?, Intereses Regionales o Intereses Globales en la Implementación de la Paz." *Club de Graduados Argentinos del Centro de Estudios Hemisféricos de Defensa –CHDS- y de los Restantes Centros de Estudios Superiores de la U.S. National Defense University*, 5-6, <http://www.uniformados.com.ar/indice-14.html>. (accessed May 12, 2005).

in the former Yugoslavia. In addition, Argentina still has troops committed to the Kosovo Force (KFOR) and to the Stabilization Force (SFOR) in the Balkans. Despite this support, Argentina has stepped back and allowed Brazil to become the regional leader. While Argentina has deployed troops to many places for peacekeeping, Brazil, as we saw, exerts strong pressure on the UN bureaucracy to be recognized as the regional leader,¹⁹⁵ asking for a permanent seat in the UN Security Council.

According to Vigliero, Argentina should capitalize on its experience in peacekeeping as a means of upgrading military equipment and gaining economic resources to develop modern armed forces.¹⁹⁶ That was what Argentina did during the 1990s. In fact, Argentina increased its experience by developing a training center for peacekeeping operations (CAECOPAZ)¹⁹⁷ where not only nationals, but also military personnel from neighboring countries have received peacekeeping training. U.S. military personnel also attended peacekeeping courses at CAECOPAZ.

By contrast, Antonio Palá argues that border problems undermine Argentinean aspirations of becoming the regional referent on peacekeeping.¹⁹⁸ However, I think that today Argentina has solved most of its important border issues, especially with Chile, and has abandoned the concept of seeing its neighbors as potential enemies, as was common in South America many years ago. Argentine “dreams” of becoming the equivalent of Canada in the Southern Cone are vanishing, not because it has border problems with its neighbors (which it does not) or because it lacks experience or commitment to peacekeeping (it has a great deal of both), but because it does not have the diplomatic leverage in the UN that Brazil has.

¹⁹⁵ Rial, e-mail message on July 20, 2005.

¹⁹⁶ Vigliero, 21.

¹⁹⁷ CAECOPAZ stands for “Centro Argentino de Entrenamiento Conjunto para Operaciones de Paz.”

¹⁹⁸ Antonio Palá, “Peacekeeping and its Effects on Civil-Military Relations,” in *International Security and Democracy, Latin America and The Caribbean in the Post-Cold War Era*, ed. Jorge I. Domínguez (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1998), 145.

Moreover, a 2004 study conducted by *Centro de Estudios Nueva Mayoría*¹⁹⁹ showed that Argentine Armed Forces increased their participation in military exercises with foreign countries. Having analyzed a period of eleven years (from 1993 to 2004), the findings make it possible to analyze the number of exercises in which peacekeeping was the core topic. In 1995, the first regional peacekeeping “planning” drill took place in Argentina. The turning point can be found in 1996, when the first combined peacekeeping exercise, called *Operación Cruz del Sur*, was executed between Argentina (the host country and sponsor of the exercise) and Brazil. Since then, an average of two “international” peacekeeping exercises have taken place between Argentina and other countries, especially Brazil, the U.S., Uruguay and Chile (listed in order of number of participations).²⁰⁰

Furthermore, Argentina has invited regional countries to join the Argentine UN task force deployed in Cyprus.²⁰¹ Uruguayan and Chilean commissioned and non-commissioned officers joined that force; in 2003, Chile also sent troops.²⁰² Without hesitation, it can be said that Argentina led the way towards regional peacekeeping integration.

These facts demonstrate that although Argentina experienced a backslide in its political life in 2001 (the president left office before the end of his term because of high social unrest), and despite the rise of a left-center government in 2003, its approach towards peacekeeping has not changed very much. One change that should be mentioned is the governmental initiative to re-state parts of the Defense White Book. One of the

¹⁹⁹ Centro de Estudios Nueva Mayoría is an Argentine think tank whose objective is to contribute to the analysis of Latin American issues by making assessments to support the decision-making process. <http://www.pdgs.org.ar/institutions/ins-argentina4-c.htm>.

²⁰⁰ “Durante 2004 Se Incrementaron Significativamente Los Ejercicios Militares Con Fuerzas Extranjeras,” Centro de Estudios Nueva Mayoría, <http://www.nuevamayoria.com/ES/INVESTIGACIONES/defense/041222a.html>. (accessed July 18, 2005).

²⁰¹ Ministerio de Defensa Nacional de la República Argentina, “Memoria detallada del Estado de la Nación 2003,” 45, <http://www.jgm.gov.ar/Paginas/MemoriaDetallada03/5Defensaimpreso.pdf>.

²⁰² Ministerio de Defensa Nacional de la República de Chile, “Ministra de Defensa Nacional Despidió a Contingente Militar que Viaja a Chipre,” *Comunicado de Prensa*, http://www.defensa.cl/paginas/public/noticias/2003/18.03.2003viaje_chipre.htm.

main statements made in the Defense White Book indicates that Argentina anticipated sending troops in support of Chapter VII operations.²⁰³

In addition, an analysis of the Argentine participation in MINUSTAH,²⁰⁴ the current UN mission in Haiti, expresses allegiance with the *Brahimi Report* and its “stand-by” forces concept, based on regional availability.²⁰⁵ Not only does Argentina consider the commitment to peacekeeping important in order to keep the military externally-oriented (which benefits civil military relations), it also considers participation in peacekeeping to be a means of reducing neighboring countries’ perception of the Argentine military as a threat.²⁰⁶ In this regard, Argentina and Chile are now studying the possibility of sending a “joint bi-national peacekeeping unit” to Haiti in 2006.²⁰⁷

In short, Argentina has made many efforts to increase its peacekeeping experience. In so doing it provides a deepening regional integration among the military, especially in peacekeeping, as a means to improve the influence of the region in the international arena as well as to build trust between neighbors. Although Argentina recognizes Brazil’s leadership, it considers itself a regional leader in regard to peacekeeping.

3. Chile

Chile created a peace operations policy based on the increasing UN requirements and on its participation as a UN Security Council non-permanent member during 2003-2004.²⁰⁸ In any case, Chile is willing to contribute to peacekeeping according to its

²⁰³ Ministerio de Defensa Nacional de la República Argentina, “La Defensa Nacional en...,” 20. Also Vigliero, 17.

²⁰⁴ MINUSTAH is the name of the UN mission in Haiti.

²⁰⁵ Luciana Micha, “Una Visión Integrada de la Participación Argentina en MINUSTAH,” *Security and Defense Studies Review*, 5, no. 1, (Spring 2005), 127, http://www3.ndu.edu/chds/journal/PDF/2005/Micha_article-edited.pdf.

²⁰⁶ Jorge I. Domínguez, “Security, Peace, and Democracy in Latin America and the Caribbean, Challenges for the Post-Cold War Era” in *International Security and Democracy, Latin America and The Caribbean in the Post-Cold War Era*, ed. Jorge I. Domínguez (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1998), 18.

²⁰⁷ “Chile y Argentina Buscan Crear una Fuerza Militar Conjunta en Haití,” Observatorio Cono Sur de Defensa y Fuerzas Armadas (Informe Chile No. 186, período del 28/08/05 al 03/09/05, Santiago, Chile) (e-mailed).

²⁰⁸ Vigliero, 14.

interests.²⁰⁹ Chile has already participated in what Bellamy, et al., call “wider peacekeeping.” These operations, known as “Chapter Six and a Half,” are usually established under Chapter VII. The problem is that wider peacekeeping implies the observance of the main characteristics of traditional peacekeeping (impartiality, consent and minimum use of force) “in an environment that may be volatile,” most times within a state, where there is no “buffer zone” to occupy and where belligerents are non-state actors.²¹⁰

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Chilean academic papers argued that regional peacekeeping exercises should pave the way for military cooperation or integration.²¹¹ Consistent with this trend, Chile, like Argentina, created a training center for peacekeeping called CECOPAC.²¹² Chile knew that both peacekeeping and peace enforcement would become areas of military cooperation in the region.²¹³ Two years later, the most outstanding evidence of Chile’s new approach to peacekeeping operations was made by Michelle Bachelet, former Chilean Minister of Defense, on the occasion of the inauguration of the National University academic year 2002.²¹⁴ Among other concepts, she said that Chile would be willing to participate in Chapter VII operations.²¹⁵ This announcement was later included in the Defense White Book.

It seems that Chile, by its commitment to “full” Chapter VII operations (peace enforcement), is trying to support its foreign policy objectives, such as the improvement of its leverage in the international arena and its questionable role as regional “pivotal

²⁰⁹ Ministerio de Defensa de la República de Chile, “Book of the National...,” 64, http://www.defensa.cl/paginas/public/libro_2002/ingles/Part%20III.pdf.

²¹⁰ Alex Bellamy, Stuart Griffin, and Paul Williams, *Understanding Peacekeeping* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2004), 129, 131.

²¹¹ Jaime Weidenslaufer Ovalle, “Ejercicios Combinados y su Repercusión en una Posible Integración y Cooperación Regional, en el Ámbito Militar,” *Revista de Marina*, 116/854, no. 1 (Enero-Febrero 2000), 3, <http://www.revistamarina.cl/revistas/2000/1/weidens.pdf>.

²¹² Ministerio de Defensa de la República de Chile, “Book of the National...,” 64. http://www.defensa.cl/paginas/public/libro_2002/ingles/Part%20III.pdf. CECOPAC stands for “Centro Conjunto para Operaciones de Paz de Chile.”

²¹³ Weidenslaufer Ovalle, 3.

²¹⁴ In 2002, Michelle Bachelet was the Minister of Defense.

²¹⁵ Michelle Bachelet Jeria, “Clase Magistral: Inauguración del Año Académico de las Fuerzas Armadas,” *Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad*, 17, no. 1-2 (Enero-Junio 2002), 98, <http://www.fasoc.cl/files/articulo/ART410a6532cf67c.pdf>.

state.” Accordingly, the current Minister of Defense expressed that Latin Americans have been capable of cooperating when common criteria were established. He mentioned the execution of peace operations as tools for improving cooperation in the region.²¹⁶ In this sense, Chilean participation in Haiti deserves attention. The country was involved in Haiti before MINUSTAH was deployed. At that time, Chilean troops integrated into the multinational force that was in charge of the overall security of the country. Then, when MINUSTAH deployed, the UN Secretary General appointed a Chilean diplomat as his representative. This diplomat is responsible for running the “political command” of the mission.

It is remarkable to note that left-center President Lagos and his Minister of Defense, Michelle Bachelet, strongly support the Chilean commitment in Haiti. Both have encouraged the evolution of Chilean participation from traditional peacekeeping into an “updated” commitment to Chapter VII operations. In so doing, both the President and the Minister believe that Chile will improve its leverage in the international arena, which as we saw, is one of Chile’s main foreign and defense policy objectives.²¹⁷ Paradoxically, General Pinochet, as Commander in Chief of the Chilean Army in 1997, had firmly expressed his opposition to involving the Army in peacekeeping, especially in Chapter VII operations.²¹⁸

However, Chile is willing to participate in Chapter VII operations with some limitations. The most remarkable limitation establishes that Chilean forces will not be used to search and/or capture criminals, belligerents or war criminals.²¹⁹

Another interesting point made by President Lagos is his belief in the use of the military to project the country’s foreign policy. In this case, by participating in UN missions, Chile expresses (in practice) its support for international law and institutions,

²¹⁶ Ravinet De La Fuente, 29.

²¹⁷ Paolo Tripodi, “La Misión de Haití desde la Mantención a la Imposición de la Paz. Nuevos Desafíos para los Cascos Azules Chilenos,” *Revista Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad*, 18, no. 1-2 (2004), 132, <http://www.fasoc.cl/files/articulo/ART4112cb32889a8.pdf>.

²¹⁸ Ibid., 126.

²¹⁹ Ministerio de Defensa de la República de Chile, “Book of the National...,” 64. http://www.defensa.cl/paginas/public/libro_2002/ingles/Part%20III.pdf.

its commitment to multilateralism and most important, its accommodation of the current global context. For Chile, participating in Chapter VII operations does not necessarily mean full use of force. President Lagos understands that in order to influence the world agenda, each country should try to participate in the decision-making process, in this case through support of UN decisions by taking part in Chapter VII operations.²²⁰

It is important to realize that Chile was the only country that modified its traditional position on peacekeeping after a left-center government took over. As we saw, Brazil remains resistant to accepting (at least in its political discourse) participation in Chapter VII operations. Argentina is maintaining its approach, under which it took part in “full” Chapter VII operations (peace enforcement). Uruguay, as we will see, is now ruled by a leftist government whose political party has expressed (in documents and in parliamentary debates) its resistance to using force as a means to achieve peace.

In short, Chile adopted a more daring approach towards peacekeeping while it was ruled by a leftist government. However, it did so in pursuit of its own interests, which are not always in tune with the region, insofar as Chile is not yet a full MERCOSUR member. Its spectrum of participation in Chapter VII operations is more limited than Argentina’s because Chile has clearly established limitations regarding Chapter VII peacekeeping participation. Further expectations are posed on the ambitious Argentine-Chilean project to send a “joint bi-national peacekeeping unit” to Haiti in 2006.

4. Uruguay

Today, Uruguay is the regional country with the highest percentage of troops committed to peacekeeping operations in different areas of the world. With a share of just 3% of the total military in the region, Uruguay accounted for 44% of the South American commitment to peacekeeping.²²¹ The leftist government, which took over in March 2005, has announced that Uruguay will continue to participate in peacekeeping operations, but

²²⁰ Tripodi, 126.

²²¹ Yamandú Sala, “Militares Uruguayos Representan el 44% que Aporta la Región a Misiones de Paz.” Cooperación Portal Uruguay, February 9, 2005, <http://www.onunet.org.uy/modules.php?op=modload&name=News&file=article&sid=564> (accessed May 12, 2005).

not in those operations established under Chapter VII.²²² During a media interview, the president of the Defense Committee of the *Frente Amplio* argued that the government should not be willing to deploy troops under Chapter VII.²²³

The document prepared by his committee - previously cited in this work - establishes that Uruguayan participation in peacekeeping must be in accordance with the country's traditional foreign policy principles of respect for people's self-determination and non-intervention in other state's domestic affairs.²²⁴ The same document states that for future commitment of troops to peacekeeping, on a case-by-case basis, Uruguay will analyze whether or not the mission effectively contributes to achieving peace, has the consent of the parties, is compatible with the principles of self-determination and supports Uruguayan interests.²²⁵

In contrast, the Defense White Book considers the possibility of engaging in Chapter VII operations insofar as the evolution of traditional Chapter VI peacekeeping is taken into account. In this sense, the White Book notes that the latest peacekeeping operations have included Chapter VII tasks towards peacebuilding.²²⁶ According to Boutros Ghali's *An Agenda for Peace*, "post-conflict peace-building" occurs once peacekeeping efforts achieve their goals. The objective of peacebuilding is to prevent the recurrence of a crisis by addressing the underlying causes of the conflict, such as economic, social and humanitarian problems. At the tactical level, the argument follows, peacebuilding may imply disarmament, repatriation, training of security personnel,

²²² Yamandú Sala, "Nuevo Gobierno Participará en Misiones de Paz," Cooperación Portal Uruguay, January 11, 2005, <http://www.onunet.org.uy/modules.php?op=modload&name=News&file=article&sid=543> (accessed May 12, 2005).

²²³ "La Política Militar del Frente Amplio, Uruguay, Frente Amplio y Fuerzas Armadas," Red Globe, October 11, 2004, <http://64.233.187.104/search?q=cache:OFG3JT22FD4J:redglobe.de/modules.php%3Fname%3DNews%26file%3Dprint%26sid%3D3166++%22URUGUAY:+FRENTE+AMPLIO+Y+FUERZAS+ARMADAS%22&hl=en> (accessed May 12, 2005).

²²⁴ "Defensa Nacional y Fuerzas Armadas...", II, Art. 9.

²²⁵ Ibid., Parte II, Art.13.

²²⁶ Ministerio de Defensa Nacional de la República Oriental del Uruguay, "La Defensa Nacional...", 61.

institution building and support for elections.²²⁷ As Bellamy, et al., point out, “Peacebuilding activities focus on two main objectives: preventing the slide back to war and creating a peace that does not require external support.”²²⁸ This concept leads us to what Pauline Baker, et al., call “sustainable security,” which they define as “the ability of a society to solve its own problems peacefully without an external administrative or military presence.”²²⁹ For Baker, et al., sustainable security is achieved through “stability operations,” and peacebuilding is the last stage of those operations. Consequently, we can infer that the Uruguayan white defense book, although using different expressions, foresees participation in peacebuilding as a step towards accomplishing sustainable security. To achieve sustainable security, recent UN missions have required peacekeeping operations set up under Chapter VII.²³⁰

The political debate in Uruguay arises when addressing this issue in terms of Chapter VI or Chapter VII operations. As we saw, the leftist government is not willing to deploy Uruguayan troops under Chapter VII. Nonetheless, it has not yet considered that current operations have what I would call “dual mandates.” That means that a UN mission includes traditional peacekeeping tasks along with other peace enforcement duties, as long as a certain degree of force may be necessary to fulfill the mandate. Therefore, some UN missions (MONUC in DRC, MINUSTAH in Haiti) have been operating under Chapter VII, although that does not mean that the UN force has gone to war or “invaded” a particular country to “impose” peace. As Paolo Tripodi²³¹ argues, Chapter VII operations have become common, because if the forces have to face a focus of violence, they should not need to wait until another UN Security Council resolution

²²⁷ Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace* (New York: UN Department of Public Information, 1995), 61-62.

²²⁸ Bellamy, et al., 129, 131.

²²⁹ Pauline H. Baker and Angeli E. Weller, *An Analytical Model of Internal Conflict and State Collapse: Manual for Practitioners* (The Fund for Peace, 1998), 10.

²³⁰ Ministerio de Defensa Nacional de la República Oriental del Uruguay, “La Defensa Nacional...,” 67.

²³¹ Paolo Tripodi is professor of Defense Studies at the *Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile*, professor of Military Ethics at the U.S. Naval Academy and professor of Ethics and Leadership at the U.S.M.C. University.

changes the mandate.²³² This is the context under which many of today's and surely future Chapter VII operations should be considered. This approach is also consistent with Brahimi's recommendation for "robust peacekeeping."²³³

The *Brahimi Report*, which is cited in the Uruguayan white defense book, is directly related to "peace-support operations." The final goal of these operations is to establish liberal democracies as a means to preserve peace and international security - the military is just one among many components.²³⁴ However, for peace-support operations to succeed, peacekeeping forces must be robust. The idea is to deter spoilers from undermining the peace process, and thus force can be used without losing impartiality. This means that consent, which is one the pillars of peacekeeping, is malleable.²³⁵

If some degree of force can be used besides self-defense, the UN mandate falls under Chapter VII. The Uruguayan white defense book reveals the fact that Uruguay has lately been committed in Chapter VII operations, such as those in the DRC and Haiti.²³⁶ I would add that Uruguayan troops have already taken part in missions, which, although they have not yet fallen into the category of peace-support operations, may likely evolve into such. First, UN mandates have increasingly incorporated tasks related to the establishment of a democratic government and its supporting bureaucracy.²³⁷ Second, peacekeeping troops in the DRC have been augmented throughout the life of the mission (although never to the required size); similarly, authorization for the use of force has been incrementally increased – from "as needed" to protect key personnel and civilians from "imminent threat" to "use of all necessary means" to fulfill the UN mandate. Indeed,

²³² Tripodi, 124.

²³³ "Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations," *Brahimi Report*, (A/55/05-S/2000/809), United Nations, 21 August 2000, 1, 9, <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N00/594/70/PDF/N0059470.pdf?OpenElement>. Robust Peacekeeping is what Brahimi developed in his report as necessary "to distinguish victim from aggressor."

²³⁴ Ibid., 6.

²³⁵ Bellamy, et al., 170-173.

²³⁶ Ministerio de Defensa Nacional de la República Oriental del Uruguay, "La Defensa Nacional...", 67.

²³⁷ "UN Security Council Resolution 1565," 2004, United Nations, 4, <http://www.un.org/documents/scres.htm>.

MONUC was mandated to conduct “cordon and search” operations.²³⁸ In the words of the UN Force Commander in the DRC, Senegalese Lt. General Babacar Gaye, “It may look like a war but it’s peacekeeping.”²³⁹ The current mission in Haiti is another example of wider peacekeeping, which, based on today’s mandate, I think could evolve into a peace-support operation.²⁴⁰

The fact is that Uruguayan military and civilian personnel have kept up with the evolution of peace operations. Referring to Bellamy, et al.’s classification,²⁴¹ Uruguay has participated in “traditional peacekeeping” (MFO, Cyprus), “managing transition” (Cambodia, Angola, Mozambique), “wider peacekeeping” (DRC), and arguably, in “peace-support operations” (currently the DRC, Haiti in the future). Increasing Uruguayan participation in peacekeeping compelled the Army to create a peacekeeping training center called EOPE.²⁴² Besides, the Army has foreseen future Uruguayan participation in peace-support operations as stated in the white defense book.²⁴³

The problem is that the current leftist government disagrees with this approach. For example, in 2003, when the *Frente Amplio* was the opposition, a change in the UN mandate for the DRC occurred.²⁴⁴ Because force was expressly authorized to fulfill the UN mandate, the *Frente Amplio* passed an updated bill in the Senate by which the Uruguayan troops would not be allowed to use force. The bill did not get enough votes to

²³⁸ “UN Security Council Resolution 1592,” 2005, United Nations, 7, <http://www.un.org/documents/scres.htm>.

²³⁹ Marc Lacey, “UN Forces Using Tougher Tactics to Secure Peace,” *New York Times*, May 23, 2005, <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/05/23/international/africa/23congo.html?pagewanted=p....> (accessed May 23, 2005).

²⁴⁰ “UN Security Council Resolution 1542,” 2004, United Nations, <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N04/332/98/PDF/N0433298.pdf?OpenElement>.

²⁴¹ Bellamy, et al., 5-6.

²⁴² EOPE stands for Escuela de Operaciones de Paz del Ejército.

²⁴³ Ministerio de Defensa Nacional de la República Oriental del Uruguay, “La Defensa Nacional...,” 51, 67.

²⁴⁴ “UN Security Council Resolution 1493,” 2003, United Nations, 3, <http://www.un.org/documents/scres.htm>.

be approved.²⁴⁵ In the case of Haiti, the *Frente Amplio* did not support deployment of Uruguayan troops because MINUSTAH was a Chapter VII mission. Then, when the UN requested an increment of Uruguayan troops in Haiti, the *Frente Amplio* voted favorably. However, its senators stated that their favorable vote had to do with the support of a “fait accompli” (Uruguayan troops were already deployed in Haiti), and did not mean a change in the contrary position they still held regarding Chapter VII deployments.²⁴⁶

In the same session, a senator argued that Uruguay should imitate the way other regional countries had addressed peacekeeping operations and how beneficial they had been in many aspects.²⁴⁷ Consistently, in a regional academic forum, General Heber J. Fígoli²⁴⁸ argued that for Uruguay, peacekeeping operations were a tool of the foreign policy. In addition, Uruguayan scholars suggest that a nation’s power is composed of several elements or “factors,” such as political, economic, military, psychosocial, geographic and scientific-technological. Because peacekeeping operations (military factor) enable a country to project a positive image into the international arena, Fígoli

²⁴⁵ Poder Legislativo de la República Oriental del Uruguay, “Diario de Sesiones de la Cámara de Senadores de la República Oriental del Uruguay, Proyecto Presentado. Se vota negativamente,” Cuarto Período Ordinario de la XLV Legislatura, 33ª Sesión Extraordinaria, 30 de Julio de 2003, 65-68, 69, <http://www.parlamento.gub.uy/sesiones/pdfs/senado/20030730s0033.pdf>. The bill expressed the *Frente Amplio*’s concerns about the participation of Uruguayan troops in Chapter VII operations, commonly related to peace enforcement. However, it must be clarified that MONUC had been deployed under Chapter VII and never under Chapter VI. For many people, at the beginning MONUC could have been considered a Chapter VI mission because it was set up with the consent of the parties. Further, the issue was that a new UN Security Council Resolution (1493/2003) authorized MONUC to use of “all necessary means to fulfill its mandate.” So, it is clear the “confusion” or problem that generates when dealing with peacekeeping operations in terms of “Chapter VI” or “Chapter VII.” In today’s context, it is clearer to analyze which type of operation the troops are going to carry out (wider peacekeeping, managing transition, peace enforcement, etc.), instead of thinking under which chapter of the UN Charter they will be deployed, because as we saw, Chapter VI operations (traditional peacekeeping) have become unlikely.

²⁴⁶ Poder Legislativo de la República Oriental del Uruguay, “Diario de Sesiones de la Cámara de Senadores de la República Oriental del Uruguay, Efectivos del Ejército Nacional que Participan en la Misión de las Naciones Unidas en Haití: Proyecto de Ley por el que se incrementa su número. En consideración. Aprobado,” Quinto Período Ordinario de la XLV Legislatura, 45ª Sesión Extraordinaria, 8 de Diciembre de 2004, 151, 155, <http://www.parlamento.gub.uy/sesiones/pdfs/senado/20041208s0045.pdf>.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., 155.

²⁴⁸ General Heber J. Fígoli is a Uruguayan general with vast experience in peacekeeping. At present, he is the Force Commander of UNFICYP, the United Nations Mission in Cyprus.

argued that the economic factor and the political factor should underpin the Uruguayan commitment to peacekeeping.²⁴⁹

In 2005, the current Uruguayan Minister of Foreign Affairs (a former *Frente Amplio* senator when the historical parties were in power) expressed before the Committee of Foreign Relations of the Chamber of Representatives that the commitment of troops to the mission in Haiti had finally been approved by the Senate, because MINUSTAH was a Latin American peacekeeping mission set up after a UN Security Council resolution was approved.²⁵⁰ This is inconsistent with what really happened because, as we saw, the mission in Haiti did not have the favorable votes of the *Frente Amplio* senators, although later, they gave their votes for the requested increment of troops. However, the Minister's explanation showed a change in his traditional position against the mission in Haiti. It seems to me that the Minister tried to draw a distinction between UN authorized missions and other "interventions" conducted without the UN's consent.

Until a decision is reached on the domestic debate, Uruguayan participation in future peacekeeping operations may not be guaranteed. At present, the government has expressed its refusal to take part in Chapter VII operations. While politicians and the military are waiting for the expected debate (a wait which seems to have gone on for so long), an update of the white defense book is needed in order to bridge the gap between discourse and practice.

In short, Uruguay is still discussing how to engage in a broad discussion on its future participation in peacekeeping. Traditionally rooted principles of foreign policy seem to lag behind the more advanced approach to peacekeeping developed by the

²⁴⁹ General Heber J. Fígoli, "Mecanismos y Estructuras Institucionales para Enfrentar las Nuevas Amenazas," in *Seguridad y Defensa en las Américas: La Búsqueda de Nuevos Consensos*, eds. Francisco Rojas Aravena y Paz V. Milet (Chile: Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, 2003), 135, <http://www.flacso.cl/flacso/biblos.php?code=570>.

²⁵⁰ Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de la República Oriental del Uruguay, "Palabras del Señor Ministro ante la Comisión de Relaciones Internacionales" XLVI Legislatura, March 30, 2005. http://www.mrree.gub.uy/mrree/Prensa/Discursos/2005/Disc_Ministro_300305.htm. In fact, the Special Representative of the UN Secretary General is a Chilean and the Force Commander is a Brazilian General. The bulk of the forces come from Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay, although there are troops from other countries, in some cases, in big numbers.

military during the historical parties' rule. While the current leftist government has not yet defined an official position on peacekeeping, the military has been participating in an array of peacekeeping operations, the latest of which was established under Chapter VII. Figure 7 summarizes the state of the issues concerning approaches to peacekeeping.

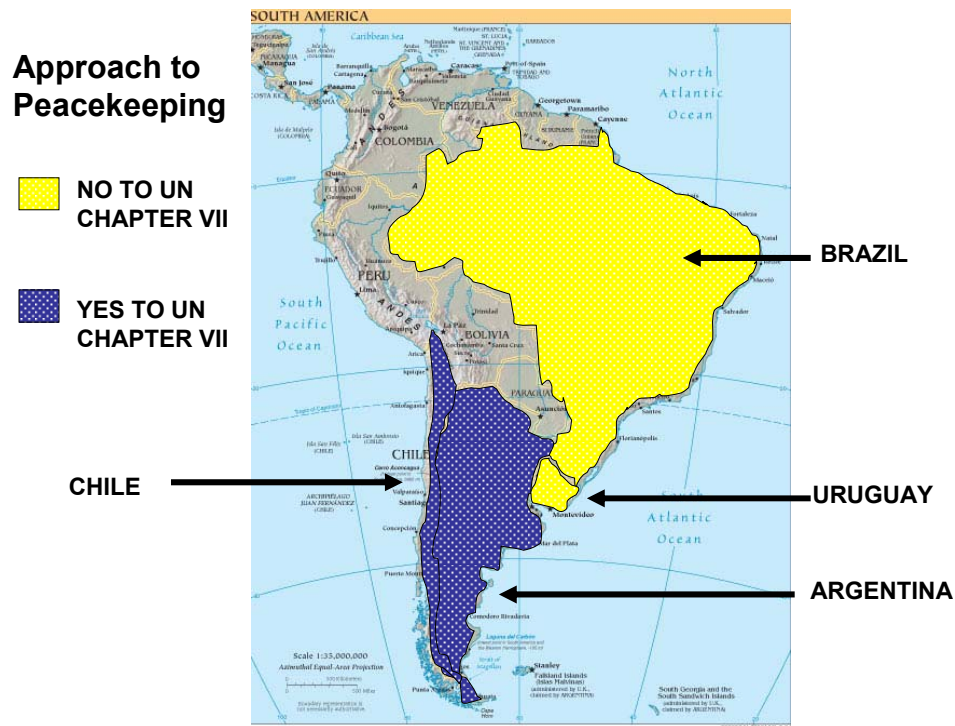


Figure 7. Approaches to Peacekeeping.

D. OTHER REGIONAL APPROACHES

1. Presidential Declarations

South American Southern Cone countries have shared common interests since the third wave of democracy began in the region. MERCOSUR countries are bound by the Asunción Treaty, which includes an addendum known as the “democratic clause,” by which MERCOSUR members declared their commitment to democracy.²⁵¹ According to Russet, et al., it is unlikely that democracies will fight against democracies.²⁵² To be

²⁵¹ “Protocolo de Ushuaia sobre Compromiso Democrático en el Mercosur, la República de Bolivia y la República de Chile,” MERCOSUR, July 24, 1998, <http://www.mercosur.org.uy/pagina1esp.htm>.

²⁵² Bruce Russet and John Oneal, *Triangulating Peace, Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations* (New York-London: The Norton Series in World Politics, 2001), 43.

more specific, democratic governments reduce conflict because they are generally more peaceful.²⁵³ Because they share common values and interests, it is likely that democracies will cooperate with each other.²⁵⁴ For example, in 1986, under democratic rule, Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay (among other South Atlantic coastal states) sponsored a UN General Assembly resolution which declared the South Atlantic Ocean a “zone of peace and cooperation.”²⁵⁵

Furthermore, in 2004, the region still enjoyed democracy although it is arguable how consolidated each country’s democracy was. Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan argued in 1996 that only Uruguay was a consolidated democracy, albeit prone to crisis due to a difficult political economy.²⁵⁶ By contrast, the ABC countries demonstrated important weaknesses. Chile was far from consolidation due to ongoing military prerogatives.²⁵⁷ Argentina demonstrated separation of powers flaws and unclear constitutional reforms.²⁵⁸ Brazil has not been able to deal with social inequality, a fragmented multiparty system and the rule of law/political accountability issue.²⁵⁹ However, Samuel Huntington argues that a democracy can be considered consolidated as long as it passes the “two-turn over test.” This means that the political party that won an election when the transition to democracy began was able to peacefully transfer the government to a different elected party in the subsequent election, which in turn, peacefully turned over to another winning party in a further election.²⁶⁰ That was the situation in the Southern Cone of South American countries in 2004.

²⁵³ Russett, et al., 82.

²⁵⁴ Ibid., 59.

²⁵⁵ “UN General Assembly Resolution A/RES/41/11,” October 1986, United Nations, <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/41/a41r011.htm>.

²⁵⁶ Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation, Southern Europe, South America and Post-Communist Europe* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1996), 221.

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

²⁵⁸ Ibid., 203.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 187-188.

²⁶⁰ Arend Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty Six Countries* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), 6.

The same year, MERCOSUR members (Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay) and Chile and Bolivia²⁶¹ declared MERCOSUR, Chile and Bolivia a “zone of peace and free of weapons of mass destruction.”²⁶² In this sense, this declaration refers to the countries’ support of the Treaty of Tlatelolco, which declared Latin America a zone free of nuclear weapons. Additionally, the document reaffirms the effectiveness of the 1991 Mendoza Commitment for the Total Prohibition of Chemical and Biological Weapons. The leitmotif of this declaration was to strengthen confidence measures and cooperation among the countries in order to avoid an arms race under the context of integration.²⁶³

2. Multinational Peacekeeping Exercises

One of the strengthened areas of cooperation was military interoperability. Increased participation in regional exercises has also been credited with improving confidence measures among the countries.

A study conducted by Centro de Estudios Nueva Mayoría from 1993 to 2004, based on Argentine participation in military exercises with foreign countries, is useful in illustrating the increasing military cooperation and interoperability in the region. A thorough analysis of the study shows participation in an increasing number of peacekeeping exercises. Since Operación Cruz del Sur (the first peacekeeping regional exercise) took place in 1996, there have been at least fourteen peacekeeping exercises in which more than one of the countries analyzed were involved. This represents roughly two peacekeeping exercises annually, in which Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay (besides the U.S.) participated most, both in terms of frequency and level of involvement.²⁶⁴

²⁶¹ Bolivia, as well as Chile, is not full MERCOSUR member. Paraguay, which is actually full MERCOSUR member, has not been considered in this study due to its small commitment to peacekeeping.

²⁶² “Political Declaration of MERCOSUR, Bolivia and, Chile as a Zone of Peace,” U.S. Department of State, <http://www.state.gov/t/ac/csbm/rd/4358.htm>.

²⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁴ “Durante 2004 Se Incrementaron Significativamente Los Ejercicios Militares Con Fuerzas Extranjeras,” Centro de Estudios Nueva Mayoría, <http://www.nuevamayoria.com/ES/INVESTIGACIONES/defense/041222a.html>. (accessed July 18, 2005). The study includes a thorough table of all multinational military exercises in which Argentina participated.

Figure 8 below shows an uneven trend concerning the number of multinational military exercises in which Argentina participated. However, the study conducted by Centro de Estudios Nueva Mayoría shows that the number of peacekeeping exercises remained nearly the same throughout the years.²⁶⁵ The maximum (2000) and minimum (2003) and the “recovery” (2004) were due to an increase or decrease in military exercises other than peacekeeping.

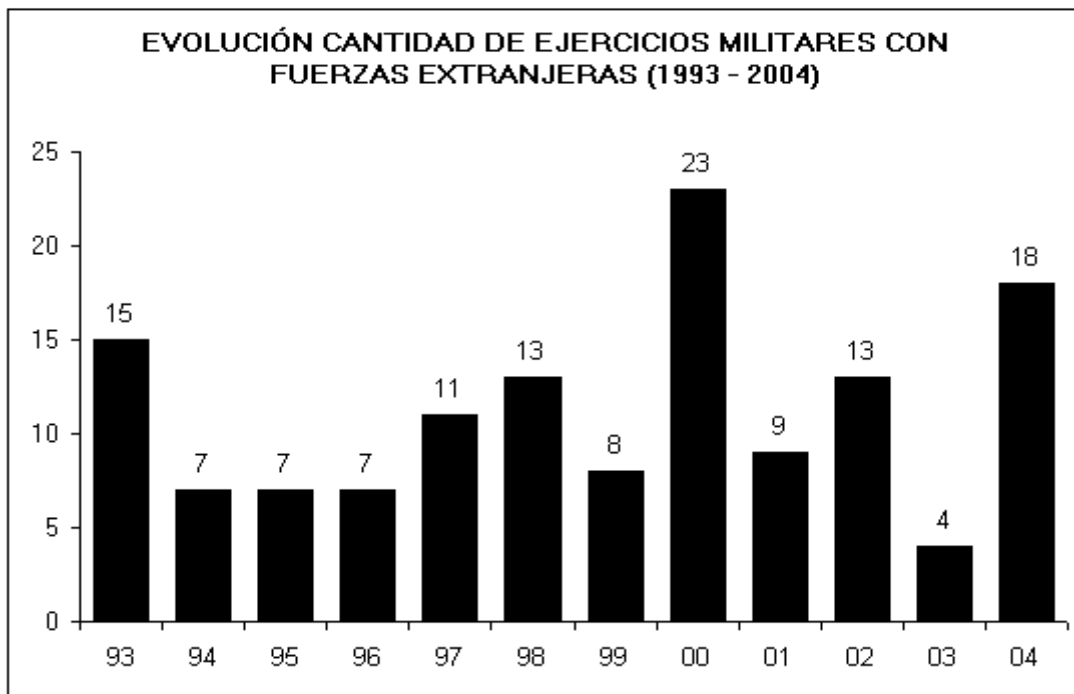


Figure 8. Evolution in the Number of Military Exercises Carried Out with Foreign Forces (1993-2004). (Base=Argentina). (From: Centro de Estudios Nueva Mayoría).

²⁶⁵ “Durante 2004 Se Incrementaron...”

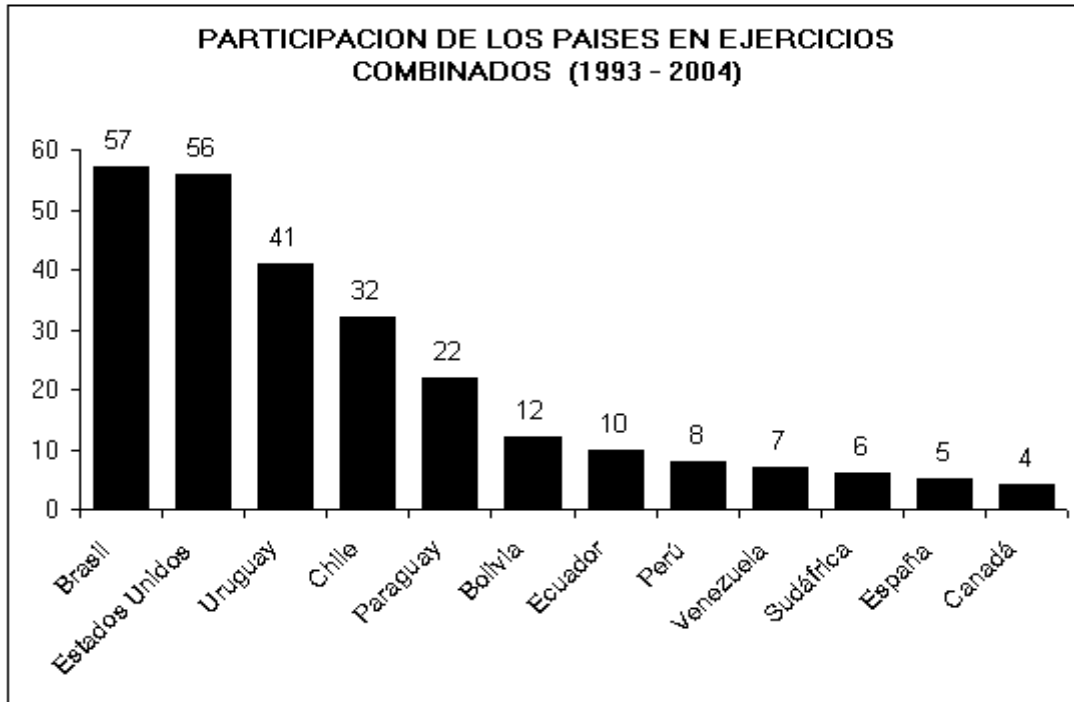


Figure 9. Countries' Participation in Combined Exercises (1993-2004). (Base=Argentina). (From: Centro de Estudios Nueva Mayoría).

Figure 9 deals with Argentine participation in military exercises with foreign armed forces. This Figure makes it possible to appreciate which regional countries participated. Findings show that the regional countries with the highest level of participation in exercises with Argentina were Brazil (57), Uruguay (41) and Chile (32).²⁶⁶ It is easy to conclude that geographical factors played an important role when it came to selecting with whom Argentina was prone to participate in military exercises. As a result, interoperability among the Southern Cone of South American countries has improved.

Although not considered for the purpose of this paper, these graphics also allow us to see the presence of the hemispheric hegemon. The U.S. had one of the highest levels of participation (56).²⁶⁷ According to Mearshimer, the U.S., as the regional

²⁶⁶ "Durante 2004 Se Incrementaron..."

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

hegemon in the western hemisphere, does not want peers.²⁶⁸ Hence, the U.S. participated in almost the same number of exercises as Brazil. It seems that the U.S. was trying to keep an eye on its eventual regional competitor. Brazil and Argentina are the countries whose militaries have most interacted. As traditional competitors, it seems that two factors led to this interaction. On the one hand, each country felt the need to take part in what its peer had done. On the other hand, each party felt the need to invite its peer to participate in what it had done. Further, in decreasing order in terms of participation in exercises is Uruguay, a close neighbor and Southwestern Atlantic Ocean partner. After Uruguay is Chile, a Pacific Ocean country separated by the Andes mountain chain and a former rival with whom Argentina still has some border concerns, though both are trying to improve relations.

As shown, the Southern Cone of South America seems to be moving towards better inter-state relations, of which military interoperability is one of the improved areas.

Nonetheless, Ricardo Runza argues that South American armed forces are not prone to operate collectively.²⁶⁹ Runza conducted a thorough analysis on the organization and deployment of each of the ABC countries' military to identify similarities which would make a cooperative security arrangement possible. One area of military cooperation he foresees is peacekeeping. He points out that MERCOSUR is the forum where the ABC countries should improve military cooperation.²⁷⁰ In light of what has already been analyzed, I would add that despite incipient regional interoperability, what has been absent is the political will needed to make military collaboration work.

In this sense, the fact that the ABC countries and Uruguay each have their own peacekeeping training centers demonstrates a lack of cooperation. Besides, each country "opened the doors" of their centers to regional and extra-regional interested countries (especially Argentina and Chile). As a result, there has been competition instead of

²⁶⁸ John J. Mearshimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2001), 40-41.

²⁶⁹ Ricardo A. Runza, "Misiones, Despliegue y Organización de las Fuerzas Armadas de Argentina, Brasil y Chile," *Revista Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad*, 18, no. 1-2, (Enero-Junio 2004), 156.
<http://www.fasoc.cl/files/articulo/ART4112cb8275129.pdf>.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 158, 177, 179.

cooperation in this area. It is clear that for basic peacekeeping training, each country needs its own facilities. But for specialized training like mine clearing, riverine operations, staff and force commander positions and so on, it would be better to centralize training.

3. Ministers of Defense Meetings

Assistance to the America's Ministers of Defense meetings has been common. These fora began in Williamsburg in 1995, and discussed a variety of hemispheric security issues. At that time, Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay participated and agreed with the points under discussion. Notable among them was the promotion of cooperation in regard to UN peacekeeping.²⁷¹ Furthermore, in the Bariloche meeting in 1996, the countries of the Americas encouraged the hemisphere to participate in UN peacekeeping operations.²⁷² The Cartagena meeting in 1998 arrived at similar conclusions.²⁷³ At Manaus in 2000, since the region had already been involved in many UN missions, the meeting encouraged the countries to train in peacekeeping. At the same time, it established that each country was free to determine its own defense requirements.²⁷⁴ Then, in Santiago de Chile in 2002, meeting attendees stated that each country had the right to participate in UN peacekeeping according to its interests and domestic law. Additionally, discussion of regional approaches for future participation in UN peacekeeping operations²⁷⁵ was encouraged. Finally, the 2004 meeting in Quito reaffirmed support for the UN role as peacekeeper. In this regard, the Quito declaration

²⁷¹ "The Williamsburg Principles," Organization of the American States, Committee on Hemispheric Security, Meetings of Ministers of Defense of the Americas, 6, <http://www.summit-americas.org/Williamsburg-spanish.htm>.

²⁷² "San Carlos de Bariloche Declaration," Organization of the American States, Committee on Hemispheric Security, Meetings of Ministers of Defense of the Americas, 4, <http://www.oas.org/CSH/english/docministerials1996.asp>.

²⁷³ "Cartagena Declaration," Organization of the American States, Committee on Hemispheric Security, Meetings of Ministers of Defense of the Americas, 7, <http://www.oas.org/CSH/english/docministerials1998.asp>.

²⁷⁴ "Declaration of Manaus," Organization of the American States, Committee on Hemispheric Security, Meetings of Ministers of Defense of the Americas, 8, 14, <http://www.oas.org/CSH/english/docministerials00.asp>.

²⁷⁵ "Declaration of Santiago, Chile," Organization of the American States, Committee on Hemispheric Security, Meetings of Ministers of Defense of the Americas, 19, <http://www.summit-americas.org/Quebec-hem-security/Ministerial%20Declaration.doc>.

also foresaw cooperation among the countries according to their interests, highlighting the participation in MINUSTAH.²⁷⁶

It is clear that regional cooperation has been enhanced no matter the relative power of the stakeholders. Indeed, Russet, et al., argue that instead of power, “ideological affinity is more important for democracies.”²⁷⁷ If so, today’s political “picture” in the Southern Cone of South America fits Russet, et al.’s argument and presents a window of opportunity for deepening cooperation.

However, the Ministers of Defense meetings analyzed in this Chapter occurred before the *Frente Amplio* took over in Uruguay in March 2005. The next Ministers of Defense meeting will be held in 2006. At present, there has been no “public” government declaration on whether or not the *Frente Amplio* is willing to participate; and if so, what approach Uruguay will take. The only known position is the document prepared by the Defense Committee of the *Frente Amplio* shortly before the 2004 elections. On that account, the document states that the Uruguayan Armed Forces “...will not be employed under the hemispheric security statements encouraged by the Williamsburg Meeting...”²⁷⁸ Moreover, the document negatively describes the array of U.S.-led hemispheric defense organizations and their related activities and considers that the main mission of the military is to ensure the sovereignty of the state in its territory. In fact, the document states that in the region

...an autonomous Pan-American military system has been created, not always in tune with the country’s foreign policy, within a frame of absolutely no transparency, absent of parliamentary checks and without citizens’ awareness. In this regard, a constellation of military organizations and activities of any sort have been developed, which have negatively influenced upon our country’s military doctrine. Consequently, the U.S. has been imposing its own vision and doctrine on what the missions and organization our Armed Forces should be.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁶ “Declaration of Quito,” Summit of the Americas Information Network, 16, 36, <http://vicdmaecuador2004.org/espanol/documentos/otros/DECLARACION%20DE%20QUITO%20INGLE S.pdf>.

²⁷⁷ Russet, et al., 59-60.

²⁷⁸ “Defensa Nacional y Fuerzas Armadas...,” Parte II, Art. 3. Translation is mine.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., II Art.5. Translation is mine.

Then the document adds that “The Uruguayan Army, Navy and Air Force, whose fundamental mission is to ensure the full exercise of sovereignty upon the diverse spaces under the republic’s jurisdiction...”²⁸⁰

The current leftist government has not yet “opened” the promised debate on national defense policy. In part, this is because the government has been very busy dealing with the “disappeared people” issue, which the current leftist government promised to investigate. The disappeared people were people captured by security forces during the dictatorship. After being held in captivity for some time, they have not yet been found anywhere. However, they were neither freed nor held in prison. As a result of this paradox, those people became known as the “disappeared people,” although the most probable scenario is that the security forces killed them. Human rights advocates and leftist parties have demanded accountability from military and civilian officials since the restoration of democracy took place in 1985. Legislative solutions entered into force and a truth commission worked to shed light on the final destiny of the disappeared people. Nevertheless, some cases remain open and the leftist government is now investigating this issue. The ongoing procedure includes excavations on military installations to find the remains of the disappeared people, based on information provided in Commanders in Chief’s reports. These tasks have taken more time than originally anticipated.

Meanwhile, the military continues to enjoy its “laissez-faire” in national defense policy.²⁸¹ The government has not yet taken time to re-assess Uruguay’s existing commitments, which were made during regional security meetings held before the *Frente Amplio* took over the government. As a result, it is highly probable that the leftist government will be represented at the next Ministers of Defense meeting. This is important because the absence of Uruguayan representation at the meeting would leave Uruguay isolated from the regional security agenda.

E. SUMMARY

It seems that some sort of checkerboards still underlie the Southern Cone region in Latin America, although the political discourse sometimes indicates the opposite. In

²⁸⁰ “Defensa Nacional y Fuerzas Armadas...,” III Art. 6. Translation is mine.

²⁸¹ Juan Rial, “¿Goles en Contra?” *Análisis-Coyuntura Latinoamericana*, August 11, 2005, <http://www.nuevamayoria.com/ES/ANALISIS/?id=rial&file=050811.html> (accessed Aug. 26, 2005).

the past, checkerboards were multipolar balance of power systems whereby neighbors were seen as enemies and neighbors of neighbors as friends.²⁸² They provided regional equilibrium. Buffer states operated as “cushions” between the large countries, which minimized the possibility of escalation. Today, the main difference between the old concept of checkerboards and the ongoing “new wave” of checkerboards is that ABC countries do not create local alignments to balance one another. What is happening today is that each country, despite economic integration, is trying to increase its leverage in the international arena independently. Although each country operates in the same checkerboard (the Southern Cone of South America), each one acts as if it were a piece of a different set of checkerboard pieces.

However, political declarations have made the military think about increasing cooperation and deepening integration. The problem is that “declarations” are not legally binding documents. Therefore, the military in the Southern Cone of South America still waits for politicians to lead the process of military integration, as democracy mandates. In this context, Uruguay cannot play the “buffer” role anymore because there is no regional conflict to prevent between its large neighbors.²⁸³

Argentina has always had desires of being an influential country at the international and regional levels. Although Argentina had already published its Defense White Book, a 2003 revision attempted to reflect the leftist viewpoint. In particular, the academic meeting created to deal with that issue was guided by a democratic approach. Almost two hundred people from different extractions, such as governmental officials, politicians, scholars, policymakers, political scientists, civil and military academic institutions and members of the armed forces participated in the first round of discussions about national defense policy and armed forces in the context of a democratic Argentina. Commitment to democracy, regional integration and preservation of peace and international security were stated goals. Additionally, participants discussed how important it was for Argentina to recover its influence in the region, thus acknowledging how a strong Argentina could have a positive effect on insertion of the region into the

²⁸² Kelly, 37.

²⁸³ Ibid., 34.

international arena. Finally, the meeting analyzed the importance of cooperative security within the region and Argentina's commitment to both Chapter VI and Chapter VII peacekeeping missions.

Although its traditional rivalry with Brazil seems to have ended, Argentina will not follow the Brazilian approach. In fact, Argentina considers itself the most experienced country in terms of security issues due to its involvement in the Malvinas/Falklands War, the First Gulf War, the U.S. intervention in Haiti, its participation in Bosnia and its category as "major non-NATO U.S. ally." Besides, by allowing Chilean troops to be part of its task force in Cyprus and foreseeing the commitment of an Argentine-Chilean joint peacekeeping unit to Haiti in 2006, Argentina has demonstrated its willingness to improve trust and cooperation in the region. As a result, it seems that Argentina is waiting for another "window of opportunity" to regain the prestige it enjoyed not so long ago.

Brazil is still trying to consolidate its hegemony in South America. Based on its Portuguese heritage of diplomacy and foreign relations, it is trying to convince everyone of the advantages of supporting its approach. While there is not yet a "formal" white defense book in Brazil, from its "white paper" it is clear that it does not want to be constrained by other regional countries. What Brazil really wants is regional support of its role as "leader," which arose again under Lula's rule. In this sense, it does not support Chapter VII operations although it demands a permanent seat on the UN Security Council. As stated in the Brazilian white paper, Brazil wants to enhance the role of preventive diplomacy.

Chile is still considering pending border issues and wants to exert influence in the international arena without constraints. Its Socialist government is pursuing the achievement of national objectives as a state policy, above partisan ideologies. Indeed, Chile outlined its defense policy and related topics of foreign policy in its white book under the current Socialist party rule. For Chile, the defense policy constitutes a tool for the projection of power and support of its diplomacy.²⁸⁴ In this regard, Chile now accepts participation in Chapter VII operations. Further expectations rest on an eventual

²⁸⁴ Vigliero, 19.

Argentine-Chilean joint peacekeeping unit's deployment to Haiti in 2006. If successful, this effort will contribute to strengthening trust between the two countries.

Uruguay is a question mark in regard to regional security issues. The leftist government has not yet provided clear-cut definitions in that regard, although its political advisors harbor distrust and skepticism about participation in peacekeeping, especially when use of force is required. As opposed to Chile, the leftist government in Uruguay "received" a non-published white defense book, whose statements on peacekeeping do not appear to be in total accordance with what the current government believes, especially if we consider the arguments that leftist members of parliament made when discussing peacekeeping issues. Besides, the Uruguayan white book still is considered a "working paper" and is open to debate. This document was created by a narrow circle of military elite, who did not always work together. The book does not necessarily reflect the military's approach and it definitely does not reflect the current leftist point of view.

So, there is not yet a state policy on peacekeeping in Uruguay. If the leftist government finally embraces its advisors' recommendations, Uruguay's approach will be closer to Brazil's than to any other country in the region. Both countries have stated their objection to Chapter VII operations and to having extra-regional countries involved in Latin American security issues.

The Southern Cone of South America is not yet prepared for a peacekeeping partnership. The ABC states have different approaches about peacekeeping and competitive objectives on regional leadership. Regional cooperation seems to be a means to achieve individualistic ends. Brazil is the "natural leader" and is now leading this "race." But Argentina and Chile do not want to be considered "secondary actors." Argentina shows the most "integrationist" approach but is viewed as so "risky" by other countries. Chile does not adhere to all policies specified in MERCOSUR, although it still tries to close links with Argentina on peacekeeping

Uruguay fears deviating from its rooted principles. Although political discourse promotes a form of military cooperation, the ABC countries and Uruguay are not yet prepared to deepen the existent level of commitment. Neither do they seem willing to yield sovereignty to a "regional peacekeeping force" or to give up rooted foreign policy

principles in favor of achieving regional standards for peacekeeping. The exception might be the Argentine-Chilean project for a joint peacekeeping unit to be deployed to Haiti in 2006. However, this would be an “ad hoc” bi-national (Argentina and Chile) unit and not a regional (ABC plus Uruguay) “permanent” one.

Moreover, for the Uruguayan leftist government, regional security arrangements such as TIAR, the Inter-American Defense Board and Ministers of Defense meetings are seen as systems to accomplish the U.S.’ interests, which are not in tune with regional or domestic interests. Besides, the Uruguayan government policy advisors still see the main role of the armed forces as defense of the territory. But, at the same time, they have not yet defined against whom defense is needed. In this “picture,” Uruguay might be left isolated by the ABC countries concerning peacekeeping. At least, other countries have clear ideas about what to do in that regard. Uruguay continues debating this issue, and worse, has no state policy.

Figure 10 summarizes the whole chapter. By highlighting each country’s independent agenda in light of the variables analyzed, it can be seen how difficult it is today for the region to achieve a peacekeeping partnership.

Assessing a Peacekeeping Partnership

- WANTS A PERMANENT SEAT AT THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL
- MOST EXPERIENCED
- BORDER ISSUES
- ONGOING DEBATE

CHILE

BORDER ISSUES

ONGOING DEBATE



Figure 10. Independent Agendas in the Southern Cone.

The following diagram summarizes the main arguments the Southern Cone of South American countries have lately sustained in light of the variables used in this research.

Does the rise of leftist regimes in the Southern Cone of South America create conditions for a successful peacekeeping partnership?

VARIABLES	ARGENTINA	BRAZIL	CHILE	URUGUAY
FOREIGN & DEFENSE POLICY	<i>No to Brazilian leadership Regain prestige</i>	<i>Regional leadership</i>	<i>No to Brazilian leadership Project power</i>	<i>Non-intervention Multilateralism</i>
APPROACH TO PEACEKEEPING	<i>Yes to UN Chapter VII Argentine-Chilean Battalion</i>	<i>No to UN Chapter VII</i>	<i>Yes to UN Chapter VII Argentine-Chilean Battalion</i>	<i>No to UN Chapter VII</i>
SECURITY ISSUES	<i>Democratic clause CAECOPAZ (PKO Training Center) MoD supports PKO</i>	<i>Democratic clause Own PKO Training Center MoD supports PKO</i>	<i>Democratic clause CECOPAC (PKO Training Center) MoD supports PKO</i>	<i>Democratic clause EOPE (PKO Training Center) MoD debates PKO</i>
ASSESSING A PEACEKEEPING PARTNERSHIP	<i>Most experienced</i>	<i>Permanent Seat in the UN Security Council</i>	<i>Border issues</i>	<i>Ongoing debate</i>

Figure 11. Assessing a Peacekeeping Partnership.

An analysis of Figure 11 shows divergent interests among the Southern Cone countries concerning Foreign and Defense Policy. The “Approach to Peacekeeping” variable shows two blocs, one composed of Argentina and Chile and the other composed of Brazil and Uruguay. Regarding security issues, although there is coincidence regarding the democratic clause, each country is running its own peacekeeping training center and is offering courses overseas. The countries appear to be in competition with each other. Finally, all Ministers of Defense support their country’s participation in peacekeeping, except for the Uruguayan Minister of Defense, who is discussing that issue. However, this will also be part of an expected broader debate on national defense policy. The final assessment for a peacekeeping partnership illustrates the bottom line resulted from the combination of the three variables’ main arguments of the Southern Cone countries. The regional landscape is not yet appropriate for a successful peacekeeping partnership.

Therefore, should Uruguay again play the “buffer” role it used to play in the past? I do not think so. Insofar as the ABC countries are trying to improve their leverage in the international arena, Uruguay’s position is stronger if it becomes part of the region’s

approach. With the highest contribution to peacekeeping in the region, Uruguay should not be left without a voice, despite being the least powerful among its eventual peacekeeping partners. It is clear that Uruguay cannot play the “buffer” role in discussing regional peacekeeping standards.²⁸⁵

By the same token, in light of the Argentine-Chilean closeness on Chapter VII peacekeeping and the Uruguayan-Brazilian similar abidance by Chapter VI, do Kelly’s checkerboards take place between these two “blocs”? Again, I do not think so. In the long run, each of the ABC countries is pursuing its own interests and Uruguay, as a former “buffer” state, has no experience in playing the checkerboard role. However, ongoing regional facts are evidence of a “new wave” of checkerboards in the region. In this sense, Chile still has border issues with Argentina. Brazil did not support the Uruguayan candidate as Chair of the World Trade Organization.²⁸⁶ Uruguay, on the one hand, did not support the Brazilian candidate for the Inter-American Development Bank;²⁸⁷ on the other hand, it does support Brazilian claims for a permanent seat on the UN Security Council.²⁸⁸ Argentina does not support the Brazilian claim.²⁸⁹ In addition, Argentina has conflicts with Uruguay about the installation of two cellulose plants on Uruguayan soil, arguing environmental degradation.²⁹⁰

As a result, it seems that nationalism is still strong enough to undermine a steady integration process. That happened during the independence war, and has been happening throughout the countries’ independent existence. The end of the Cold War afforded regional integration for economic prosperity. Yet integration on issues which involve the concept of sovereignty and nationality, such as the creation of a regional force for peacekeeping, seems to be unlikely in the short run. During the last decade, the countries

²⁸⁵ Kelly, 34.

²⁸⁶ “Llega a Montevideo el Canciller Brasileño,” *El País Digital*, Montevideo, Uruguay, Año 87, No. 30160, Internet Año 10, No. 32272, July 29, 2005, on line edition, http://www.elpais.com.uy/05/07/29/ultmo_165768.asp (accessed July 29, 2005).

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

²⁹⁰ “Gobierno y empresas cierran filas en torno a plantas de celulosa,” *El Observador*, Montevideo, July 30, 2005, on line edition, <http://www.observa.com.uy/osecciones/actualidad/nota.aspx?id=36068> (accessed July 30, 2005).

have agreed on a variety of “new threats” and declared that confidence measures should continue to be taken to diminish the perception of the neighbor as a threat. That was a political decision. By the same token, peacekeeping does not involve rivalry in the sense that those who participate by no means constitute a threat to their neighbors. That is because UN missions are “open” to all who want to participate, insofar as they are in “acceptable shape” to do so.²⁹¹

Luis Tilibetti argues that MERCOSUR is more than an economic agreement. In support of this argument, he presents the declaration of MERCOSUR as a zone of peace made in Ushuaia and then recognized by the OAS and the UN.²⁹² I would argue that a peacekeeping partnership is another political decision ABC countries and Uruguay might make. The four countries analyzed are now sharing a peacekeeping mission in Haiti. This can be considered a “window of opportunity” to find similar approaches concerning other peacekeeping operations.

The ideological convergence in the region constitutes a basis for establishing a dialogue on this issue. However, the creation of a “regional peacekeeping force” sounds complicated. The first step should be to agree on regional standards for participation in UN peacekeeping operations. This alone will demand a lot of time. Once this step is achieved, the region can think about creating a regional force under the command of any of the involved countries. Argentina and Chile are now moving towards a joint commitment to Haiti in 2006. But this would be an “ad hoc” effort tailored just to that mission. Brazil is not concerned about the creation of a regional force or the adoption of regional peacekeeping standards because as regional leader, it has already achieved its goal of commanding the peacekeeping forces deployed to the UN mission in Haiti. Compared to the ABC countries, Uruguay is the only one which is not competing for regional leadership; likewise, its leftist government is the one which has to work the most in designing a peacekeeping policy. Chapter V details why the Uruguayan Armed Forces should be committed to UN Chapter VII peacekeeping operations.

²⁹¹ Palá, “Peacekeeping and its Effects...,” 146.

²⁹² Luis Tilibetti, “El Debate Intermilitar en el Cono Sur sobre la Seguridad Regional.” Dissertation at XI Simposio de Estudios Estratégicos de los Estados Mayores de las FFAA del Mercosur, Círculo Militar de Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1995, 5, www.defensenet.ser2000.org.ar/foro/luis.htm.

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IV: REASONS WHY URUGUAY SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN UN CHAPTER VII PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS

Does anybody believe, and is anybody seriously arguing, that in six months we should cease to participate in Unitas, discuss and eventually withdraw from the Congo and Haiti, investigate the fate of the disappeared, modify the promotion system for general officers, reorganize the intelligence services with direct oversight by the presidency, legislate on the right of civilians to occupy the highest positions in the Ministry of Defense, discuss, modify, and reorganize the deployment of forces over the national territory, review the military education system and the military justice system, the role of the merchant marine, reform military pensions, analyze the relationship of the military health system and the future national health system, approve the budget, and engage in another long list of tasks? It seems altogether obvious to us that the answer to these questions is ‘no.’

Senator Eleuterio Fernández Huidobro (Tupamaro Leader, former guerrilla fighter and current Chairman of the Defense Committee of the Senate).²⁹³

To discuss the Uruguayan Armed Forces’ participation in future peacekeeping operations is something new for politicians and policymakers. The leftist government has promised to allow an open debate on national defense policy. The issue of Uruguayan involvement in peacekeeping operations would be one part of this larger discussion. In fact, such a debate would be the first attempt to discuss military issues in a broader sense. That would also mean the “end” of the military “laissez-faire,” which was the tacit policy that marked Uruguayan civil-military relations under the historical parties’ rule. That “policy” accounted for a certain degree of politicization of the armed forces, which, in the past, caused a “clash” between the military and the left. Today, an analysis of the Uruguayan threat environment under Desch’s criteria (low internal threat and low external threat) finds that in order to avoid embarrassing civil-military problems, the leftist government should support the deployment of troops to international

²⁹³ Diario *La República*, October 27, 2005. Translation is mine.

peacekeeping.²⁹⁴ This is tantamount to saying that Uruguayan troops should be deployed under Chapter VII.

Politicians and people in general have become accustomed to accepting the commitment of Uruguayan troops in international peacekeeping operations. Indeed, we saw that at the domestic level, this role has improved the image the Uruguayan people have of the military. But traditionally, Uruguayan troops were deployed to Chapter VI missions. Today, the major Uruguayan commitments take place in the DRC and Haiti, both missions established under Chapter VII. The previous Chapter mentioned the extensive parliamentary debate that took place regarding whether or not to send troops to those countries. Political and ideological arguments framed that discussion. In March 2005, the left took over the government. The left, accustomed to behaving as the opposition, is now responsible for taking the initiative to prepare and submit requests to parliament regarding authorizing the commitment of troops for overseas peacekeeping.

Should the Uruguayan Armed Forces be committed to UN Chapter VII peacekeeping operations? I argue that Uruguay should commit its Armed Forces to a broader spectrum of peacekeeping missions, including UN Chapter VII operations. In my opinion, the pending debate on whether or not the Uruguayan Armed Forces should be deployed to UN Chapter VII missions represents a window of opportunity for both the leftist government and the military to improve civil-military relations. It is a win-win situation in which both could achieve their “goals.” Peacekeeping is one of the military missions Desch recommends for a threat environment similar to the current situation in Uruguay (low internal threat and low external threat). The issue is to ensure civilian control of the military by developing an adequate military doctrine.²⁹⁵ Political support of Chapter VII missions would allow the military to continue and improve its participation in peacekeeping operations and to enjoy the benefits of doing so. The leftist government would consolidate its power without violating the traditional foreign policy principles of preventive diplomacy and peaceful resolution of conflicts. In addition, the government

²⁹⁴Michael C. Desch, *Civilian Control of the Military, the Changing Security Environment* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 2001), 124.

²⁹⁵ Desch, 116.

would also support the ideals of multilateralism and international solidarity. The trade-off for the government would be to abandon its rigid adherence to the ideal of non-intervention, which is closely tied to the principle of self-determination.

In this regard, how consistent are Chapter VII peacekeeping operations with the current political and military situation in Uruguay? We will see that future Chapter VII peacekeeping missions will not necessarily mean a violation of the Uruguayan foreign policy principles and leftist ideals, but instead are a different approach for coping with the dilemmas posed by today's post-Westphalian world. We will also see that the military has a unique opportunity to train its personnel in conflict environments and can obtain economic benefits for doing so. However, the military should be willing to suffer more casualties than it has been used to. On the one hand, the country would improve its status as a member of the international community, whereas the government could consolidate its power by enjoying stable civil-military relations. On the other hand, the government should be ready to succeed in managing disagreements between its parties and constituencies. Finally, both the military and the government would collaborate in projecting an image of Uruguay as a stable country, committed to ensuring peace and international security.

Therefore, I propose a policy for Uruguay's participation in peacekeeping operations that is:

1. Consistent with the Uruguayan traditional foreign policy principles of
 - a. Preventive Diplomacy
 - b. Peaceful Resolution of Controversies
2. Consistent with the current leftist government ideals of
 - a. Multilateralism
 - b. International solidarity
3. Consistent with military needs in terms of
 - a. Training and Re-equipment
 - b. Welfare of personnel

4. Essential to improve
 - a. The image of the country in the international arena
 - b. Domestic civil-military relations

The following analysis will show why UN Chapter VII peacekeeping operations are consistent with each of the preceding arguments.

A. UN CHAPTER VII OPERATIONS, URUGUAYAN FOREIGN POLICY PRINCIPLES AND LEFTIST IDEALS

There have been breaches to peace and international security which have resulted in non-coercive UN actions. Traditionally, those breaches have been Chapter VI operations or, according to Bellamy, et al., traditional peacekeeping.²⁹⁶ These types of operations exactly fit the Uruguayan traditional foreign policy principles of preventive diplomacy, non-intervention, self-determination and peaceful resolution of controversies among states because they rely on consent, impartiality and minimum use of force.²⁹⁷ In addition, they attempt to contribute to peaceful resolution of conflict through the use of a peacekeeping force operating as deterrent to further engagements between the parties.²⁹⁸ This deterrent characteristic is what today resembles former UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskold's preventive diplomacy approach of the sixties. Up to this point, Uruguayan traditional foreign policy principles of preventive diplomacy and peaceful resolution of conflicts have not been violated at all.

But the world has changed. UN peacekeeping operations began deploying within state borders to stop domestic conflict. The result was the evolution of the traditional peacekeeping of Chapter VI to different forms of operations under Chapter VII. These operations were needed to allow peacekeepers to fulfill the UN mandate. Thus, although using force is authorized, the ultimate goal is to create a safe environment for an agreed upon peace process. The aim is to contribute to the peaceful resolution of conflict. In this

²⁹⁶ Alex Bellamy, Stuart Griffin, and Paul Williams, *Understanding Peacekeeping* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2004), 46.

²⁹⁷ Ibid., 95.

²⁹⁸ Paul F. Diehl, *International Peacekeeping* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University, 1995), 34, 37.

regard, only violent spoilers are targeted.²⁹⁹ The following analysis will show how UN Chapter VII operations can fit both the Uruguayan traditional foreign policy principles of preventive diplomacy and peaceful resolution of conflicts and the leftist ideals of multilateralism and non-intervention.

Boutros Ghali's *An Agenda for Peace* foresaw an increasingly coercive UN approach when it expressed that "Peacekeeping is the deployment of a United Nations presence in the field, **hitherto** with the consent of all the parties concerned, **normally involving United Nations** military and/or police personnel and frequently civilians as well."³⁰⁰

We note that the highlighted words elicited controversy in the international community concerning the abandonment of rooted peacekeeping principles such as consent and the UN's "monopoly" on ensuring peace and international security. Furthermore, we saw that the *Brahimi Report* created the concept of "robust peacekeeping," allowing an increasing use of force to fulfill the UN mandate in order "to distinguish victim from aggressor."³⁰¹ We have seen that the UN has lately increased its involvement in Chapter VII operations because failure to use force has frequently resulted in mass killings, genocide and other atrocities against humanity, as occurred in Somalia, Rwanda and Kosovo. In this regard, a specific approach, known as "humanitarian intervention," has evolved in the realm of the UN as a means to cope with similar situations in the future.

Accordingly, the issue for Uruguay is to reassess what non-intervention in other States' domestic affairs and state sovereignty mean for the international community today, because as we saw, the principle of non-intervention has traditionally been embraced by Uruguay. This leads our discussion to the *Report of the International*

²⁹⁹ Stephen John Stedman, "Introduction" in *Ending Civil Wars, the Implementation of Peace Agreements*, ed. Stephen John Stedman, Donald Rothchild, and Elizabeth M. Cousens (Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002), 11.

³⁰⁰ Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace* (New York: UN Department of Public Information, 1995), 62. Emphasis added.

³⁰¹ "Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations," *Brahimi Report*, (A/55/05-S/2000/809), United Nations, 21 August 2000, 1, 9, <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N00/594/70/PDF/N0059470.pdf?OpenElement> (accessed June 7, 2005).

Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, whereby an independent international commission appointed by the UN Secretary General tried to achieve a consensus on how the international community should respond to massive violations of human rights and humanitarian law.³⁰² This study relied on two core basic principles: first, state sovereignty implies responsibility for the protection of its people; and second, when a state is unwilling or unable to stop the harm caused to its population by internal violence, the “international responsibility to protect” trumps the principle of non-intervention. This concept implies that the international community has an obligation to militarily intervene within a state for humanitarian purposes, regardless of whether that state’s leaders consent to such intervention.³⁰³ As the report states

What is at stake here is not making the world safe for big powers, or trampling over the sovereign rights of small ones, but delivering practical protection for ordinary people, at risk of their lives, because their states are unwilling to protect them.³⁰⁴

In light of the “responsibility to protect” (humanitarian intervention) approach, what has been done either in Uruguayan academic discussions or in the sphere of the current leftist government? According to Felipe Paolillo, former Uruguayan ambassador to the UN (2000-2005), the problem of dogmatically sustaining the principle of non-intervention does not solve the “humanitarian intervention dilemma.” This is because all countries have demanded an end to atrocities against humanity, but without explaining how to bring about such an end.³⁰⁵ During a September 2005 visit to the U.S., Dr. Tabaré Vázquez, the current Uruguayan President, spoke at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) and commented on the controversy addressed by Paolillo regarding the intervention dilemma. The President stated that Uruguay should design its foreign policy based on traditional rooted principles, among them the principle of non

³⁰² International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, *The Responsibility to Protect*, December 2001, VII, <http://www.iciss.ca/report-en.asp> (accessed, September 29, 2005).

³⁰³ Ibid., 8.

³⁰⁴ Ibid., 11.

³⁰⁵ Felipe Paolillo, “El Concepto de la ‘Intervención Humanitaria’.” Dissertation at the Uruguayan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2002, 7, <http://www.mrree.gub.uy/mrree/lase/Actividades/conferencias/paolillofinal.htm> (accessed September 30, 2005).

intervention. But he also said that Uruguay has to recognize the indivisible character of all human rights.³⁰⁶ This concept of indivisibility is consistent with the *Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty*. In this regard, the report recognizes that because human security is indivisible, “gross human rights violations can constitute a risk to people everywhere.”³⁰⁷ What the Uruguayan president did not address was how to reconcile his concerns for the universal indivisibility of all human rights with the principle of non-intervention. This is more remarkable when we analyze the speech the Uruguayan president gave on the occasion of the UN General Assembly 60th Session in September 2005. In addition to expressing the same ideas he had previously addressed at the CSIS meeting, he added that no one can be passive witness or unconcerned about what seem to be someone else’s problems.³⁰⁸

The international community is still in the process of discussing the “humanitarian intervention” issue, although the concept is now called “the responsibility to protect.” The dilemma has also been tackled in terms of preventing the commission of humanitarian atrocities by addressing the root causes of internal conflicts.³⁰⁹ But according to Paolillo, once the problem is apparent, it is clear that the preventive approach was unsuccessful.³¹⁰

The solution, according to Paolillo, seems to rely on having a Chapter VII resolution approved in advance by the Security Council. Without this approval, the dilemma will remain unsolved because the international community still has to figure out how to put an end to gross human rights violations. In this event and in order to avoid a possible UN Security Council veto, only an ex post facto legitimization might solve the

³⁰⁶ Presidencia de la República Oriental del Uruguay, “Palabras del Presidente de la República, Tabaré Vázquez, en el Centro para Estudios Estratégicos e Internacionales, junto a los Ministros Danilo Astori, Reinaldo Gargano y Jorge Lepra, en Washington DC, Estados Unidos De Norteamérica,” September 2005, 4, <http://www.presidencia.gub.uy/Web/noticias/2005/09/2005091404.htm> (accessed September 14, 2005).

³⁰⁷ International Commission on..., 5.

³⁰⁸ Presidencia de la República Oriental del Uruguay, “Palabras del Presidente de la República Oriental del Uruguay, Dr. Tabaré Vázquez, en el Debate General del 60° Período de Sesiones de la Asamblea General de las Naciones Unidas en Nueva York,” September 2005, 2-3, <http://www.presidencia.gub.uy/web/noticias/2005/09/2005091702.htm> (accessed September 30, 2005).

³⁰⁹ International Commission on..., XI.

³¹⁰ Paolillo, 7. The author calls this preventive approach as “half response” of the problem.

dilemma of humanitarian intervention, as long as certain conditions are fulfilled: the intervention is the response to a “just cause,” it should never be unilateral but collective, its only purpose should be to put an end to humanitarian atrocities, and finally, military intervention must be considered a last resort.³¹¹ The issue is to figure out who will legitimize military intervention for humanitarian purposes. The UN Security Council is the appropriate entity to do so, acting under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. However, if the veto were used, the dilemma would remain unsolved. The “default” option might be a UN General Assembly legitimization under the *United for Peace* resolution, which, as we discussed in Chapter II, was created with the participation of Uruguayan representatives. However, this would not be a compulsory solution insofar as the UN General Assembly has no binding powers.

What is clear is that this type of military intervention is unrelated to old concepts of intervention, especially concepts from the beginning of twentieth century, at which time the great powers intervened in other countries to collect debts or promote commercial interests.³¹² These old-style military interventions forced weak countries to abide by the principle of non-intervention. In doing so, weak countries acted in defense of their sovereignty, and its partner, the principle of self-determination.³¹³ But humanitarian intervention, or the responsibility to protect approach, relies on state sovereignty, understood as a state’s responsibility for its population’s security and welfare with its dimension on human rights. Understanding state sovereignty as responsibility ensures a state’s domestic and international accountability concerning human rights.³¹⁴ This is consistent both with President Vázquez’s expressions in the UN General Assembly 60th Session and with the Uruguayan leftist political and social platforms.

What other consistencies can we find between the Uruguayan leftist foreign policy arguments and the responsibility to protect approach? When the left took over the government in March 2005, the Minister of Foreign Affairs stated before the Committee

³¹¹ Paolillo., 10-11, 15 . The author calls this solution “conditional legitimization.”

³¹² Martha Finnemore, *The Purpose of Intervention, Changing Beliefs About the Use of Force* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2003), 27, 46.

³¹³ Ibid., 6.

³¹⁴ International Commission on..., 13.

of Foreign Relations of the Chamber of Representatives that Uruguay would emphasize multilateralism as a necessary element in addressing important international issues.³¹⁵ Furthermore, speaking at the opening meeting of the UN General Assembly 60th Session in September 2005, President Vázquez argued that peace and international security rely on universal multilateralism and he repudiated any unilateral action to achieve the UN Charter goals.³¹⁶ Moreover, when the Uruguayan president spoke in the UN General Assembly 60th Session following debate, he mentioned seven principles of Uruguayan foreign policy. Related to my argument, he talked about solidarity and multilateralism, besides non-intervention, emphasizing the essential role of the UN in addressing the world's agenda.³¹⁷

In today's international context, to demand solidarity and multilateralism is completely in tune with the responsibility to protect approach. In this regard, the *Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty* foresees military intervention for humanitarian purposes based on the following principles: the just cause threshold, the precautionary principle, right authority and operational principles.³¹⁸ The just cause threshold refers to large-scale loss of life or "ethnic cleansing," which implies solidarity with suffering peoples. In this sense, the current Uruguayan Under-Secretary of Defense made an "unofficial" press declaration in which he argued that in the event of

³¹⁵ Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de la República Oriental del Uruguay, "Palabras del Señor Ministro ante la Comisión de Relaciones Internacionales" XLVI Legislatura, March 30, 2005. http://www.mrree.gub.uy/mrree/Prensa/Discursos/2005/Disc_Ministro_300305.htm (accessed August 22, 2005). The minister said that the guiding principles of the Uruguayan foreign policy are based on the observance of the international law, the defense of multilateralism and the importance of the UN's role.

³¹⁶ Presidencia de la República Oriental del Uruguay, "Vázquez Reafirmó Apego y Respeto Incondicional al Derecho Internacional y la Carta de la ONU. Palabras del Presidente de la República, Tabaré Vázquez, en la Asamblea General de las Naciones Unidas, en Nueva York," 2, <http://www.presidencia.gub.uy/web/noticias/2005/09/2005091512.htm> (accessed September 30, 2005).

³¹⁷ Presidencia de la República Oriental del Uruguay, "Vázquez Destacó Valores de la Paz y la Democracia, y Fustigó la Pobreza y la Desigualdad. Palabras del Presidente de la República Oriental del Uruguay, Dr. Tabaré Vázquez, en el Debate General del 60° Período de Sesiones de la Asamblea General de las Naciones Unidas en Nueva York," September 2005, 2-3, <http://www.presidencia.gub.uy/web/noticias/2005/09/2005091702.htm> (accessed September 30, 2005). Also Adriana Amat, *Entrevista al Presidente de la República, Tabaré Vázquez, Realizada por la Periodista de Voice of America*, 10, <http://www.presidencia.gub.uy/web/noticias/2005/09/2005091311.htm> (accessed September 30, 2005).

³¹⁸ International Commission on..., XII-XIII.

ethnic cleansing, the leftist government might be willing to send troops under Chapter VII.³¹⁹

Moreover, the precautionary principle deals with right intention (to put an end to human suffering through **multilateral** operations),³²⁰ that again implies solidarity and multilateralism; military intervention as a last resort (to deploy military forces only when non-military efforts fail), proportional means (scale, duration and intensity of the minimum military intervention needed to achieve the human protection objective) and reasonable prospects (reasonable chances of success in ending people's suffering),³²¹ which also implies solidarity. Furthermore, the right authority principle empowers the UN Security Council to authorize military intervention for humanitarian purposes,³²² which enhances multilateralism. I would add that a Council's decision in that regard would require a Chapter VII resolution, because as Martha Finnemore points out, "What used to be simple atrocities are now understood as threats to international peace and order in ways that were not true during previous eras."³²³

Finally, the operational principles are very similar to the ones which rule today's peacekeeping. Among those principles are limitation and gradualism when using force (the goal is to protect the population, not to defeat the state) and maximum coordination with humanitarian organizations.³²⁴

International solidarity and broad participation in defense of human rights are arguments that have always characterized the left in Uruguay. A domestic example illustrates how important "multilateralism," "solidarity" and what I would call "foreign intervention" concerning human rights are today for the Uruguayan left. The leftist government has allowed excavations in military installations in order to find the remains

³¹⁹ Yamandú Sala, "Nuevo Gobierno Participará en Misiones de Paz," Cooperación Portal Uruguay, January 11, 2005, <http://www.onunet.org.uy/modules.php?op=modload&name=News&file=article&sid=543> (accessed May 12, 2005).

³²⁰ Emphasis added.

³²¹ International Commission on..., XII.

³²² Ibid.

³²³ Finnemore, 136.

³²⁴ International Commission on..., XIII.

of the “disappeared,” those illegally abducted and killed when Uruguay was ruled by a dictatorship (1973-1985). In doing so, Argentine scientists and political authorities have been working alongside Uruguayan partners. Not only did those foreigners work on Uruguayan soil to contribute to accomplishing Uruguayan goals, but they also made media statements.³²⁵

So, we find important similarities between the Uruguayan traditional foreign policy principles, the political and social platform of the leftist government, its most recent discourse in the international arena and the new approach that military interventions began taking in the sphere of the UN and the international community. We might argue that Uruguay participated in humanitarian interventions before the responsibility to protect approach was documented. According to Finnemore, the primary goal of the 1991-1993 UN mission in Cambodia, where Uruguay played a prominent role, was neither strategic nor territorial. It was humanitarian.³²⁶ At present, the two peacekeeping operations in which Uruguay is involved with troops (DRC and Haiti) have a humanitarian protection component. It is foreseeable that in regions experiencing the ongoing process of internal conflicts and state collapse, human suffering will be common. Either by means of a peacekeeping operation or by means of a military humanitarian intervention, the UN Security Council may be called upon to act. If so, it is highly probable that the Council will pass a Chapter VII resolution allowing some type of military intervention.

However, it is also highly probable that the UN-led forces will “intervene” to contribute to the prevention of further violence and to help create a peaceful environment for conflict resolution. In so doing, peacekeeping forces would be demonstrating support for the ideals of multilateralism and international solidarity. Therefore, Uruguayan troops could participate in those operations because traditional foreign policy principles and leftist ideals will not be violated at all. For the domestic discourse in Uruguay, the only

³²⁵ Mario Delgado Gerez, “Las Excavaciones en el Batallón N° 14 Culminarían en Alrededor de un Mes,” *La República*, Sección POLÍTICA, September 28, 2005, <http://www.larepublica.com.uy/lr2/bin/lr2.php?SID=1898d9250e2d777483bed7fbfc7b5ac> (accessed October 4, 2005).

³²⁶ Finnemore, 52.

arguable point might be the issue about the principle of non-intervention. But, as we saw, this principle has evolved into a very limited, constrained, specific and accountable form of humanitarian intervention, based on the concept of responsibility to protect. Its ultimate goal is to alleviate people's suffering, which, at the end of the day, has been a traditional leftist banner.

B. UN CHAPTER VII OPERATIONS AND URUGUAYAN MILITARY NEEDS

1. Training

Peacekeeping has represented an invaluable opportunity for the military to train its personnel in a more realistic environment than any field exercise. In this regard, in his Master's thesis on National Strategy, Uruguayan General Hebert Fígoli argued that "Peacekeeping forces develop their duties in an operational environment extremely more authentic than the homeland's peaceful training scenarios, in the absence of immediate real or potential threats."³²⁷ Fígoli attempted to scientifically identify how beneficial peacekeeping operations had been for army personnel. The goal was to determine to what extent army personnel (the enlisted men) were more skillful and willing to fulfill their duties once reassigned to their units of origin upon completion of the peacekeeping mission.³²⁸ This was the first scientific study on the effect of peacekeeping operations on army personnel training; and it was conducted after the Army participated in its first three "major" peacekeeping missions, Cambodia (1991-1993), Mozambique (1992-1994) and Angola (1995-1999).³²⁹ This framework allowed Fígoli to analyze enough information and experience because more than 6000 Uruguayan Army troops had taken part in those missions, representing roughly 50% of the Army's strength.

Fígoli compared two similar groups of enlisted men (same rank, skills and units of origin): the sole difference was that one of the groups was composed of people who

³²⁷ General Hebert J. Fígoli, "El Nuevo Rol del Ejército Nacional en el Marco de la ONU para el Mantenimiento de la Paz." Master Thesis for the Degree of Maestría en Estrategia Nacional, at Centro de Altos Estudios Nacionales, Montevideo, November, 1996, 60. In Uruguay, *Centro de Altos Estudios Nacionales* is the only joint postgraduate military institution. By the time Fígoli presented his masters thesis (1996), he was a colonel.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*, 27.

³²⁹ It should be noted that by the time Fígoli made his study (1996) the Army still was committed in Angola, where the UN mission lasted until 1999.

participated in peacekeeping operations and the other group was composed of people who lacked that experience.³³⁰ By means of distributing questionnaires to both “testing groups” and to their units’ officer corps, and by personally interviewing the commanders of the same units, Fígoli focused his study on the following topics: self-confidence, fear, tension and leadership; technical-tactical performance, and sergeant/corporals’ command skills. The necessary data processing was conducted by a private statistics and survey firm, which strengthened the professional quality of the analysis.

The study results demonstrated that participation in peacekeeping operations was beneficial for army personnel training, either collectively or individually.³³¹ The findings were summarized in six major areas. First, the enlisted men who participated in peacekeeping demonstrated good performance in conflict areas and kept their individual equipment and weapons in a high degree of readiness. Second, the officer corps positively qualified the soldiers’ readiness and willingness to fulfill their duties and to improve their personal care once those who participated in peacekeeping returned to their units of origin. Third, leadership skills were remarkable among the people who took part in peacekeeping missions compared to those who did not. Fourth, former peacekeepers demonstrated better physical training, readiness for field exercises and concentration at work once they returned to their units of origin. Fifth, personnel with specific skills, such as corpsmen, radio-operators and drivers, returned significantly better prepared than those who did not take part in peacekeeping missions. Sixth, former peacekeepers shared their newly gained knowledge and improved technical-tactical skills with others, and were viewed by their peers as examples of soldiers to emulate.³³² Other works have also come to the conclusion that peacekeeping missions have beneficial effects on army personnel training, but Fígoli’s work is still considered the masterpiece in this field and is used as a reference for related studies.

The Uruguayan Navy, which has become increasingly involved in peacekeeping operations, also analyzed the effects on training. In this regard, the Navy emphasized the

³³⁰ Fígoli, “El Nuevo Rol...,” 87.

³³¹ Ibid., 154.

³³² Ibid., 153.

importance of strengthening corps spirit among both deployed personnel and members from all military services. For the Navy, this “multi-service” interaction is one of the most remarkable outcomes of peacekeeping, because efforts have recently been made to improve military jointness in Uruguay.³³³

Like Fígoli, the Navy appreciated the importance of operating in environments at odds with the safety of the homeland scenario.³³⁴ The Uruguayan Navy analyzed its most important peacekeeping area of commitment: riverine operations. In Cambodia in 1991-1993, the Uruguayan Navy had the opportunity to operate in riverine areas alongside other components. Ten years later, when the UN Security Council authorized the deployment of a peacekeeping mission in the DRC, it included in the mandate that the Congo River should be reopened as major line of communication.³³⁵ In fact, that mission was assigned to a Uruguayan Riverine Company, which includes two fast patrol boats. At present, Uruguay is the only country which has contributed to the UN with a naval contingent.³³⁶ Having become accustomed to operating in riverine environments, the experience of the Uruguayan Navy components has been fully appreciated by the UN.³³⁷ A Navy document reported that the DRC experience in riverine environments will improve the Navy’s already existent skills in domestic riverine operations.³³⁸

³³³ Departamento de Logística de Misiones de Paz, “Memorando CCL 07/05, Importancia de las Misiones de Paz para la Armada Nacional,” (Estado Mayor General de la Armada, Montevideo, March 2, 2005), 2.

³³⁴ Departamento de Logística de Misiones de Paz, 2.

³³⁵ UN Security Council Resolution 1355 (2001), 25, <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N01/413/07/PDF/N0141307.pdf?OpenElement>.

³³⁶ Afterwards, Uruguay would deploy an additional Riverine Company. They successfully reopened the Congo River and its most important tributaries, having patrolled the equivalent of three round-world trips. Among the most remarkable credits of these Uruguayan Riverine Companies, was the rescue of almost 1,000 people in a period of six months from dying in the waters of the Congo River. At present the companies are deployed in Lakes Alberto and Eduardo along the DRC-Rwandan border.

³³⁷ Armada Nacional, *Participación Naval Uruguaya en Misiones de Paz de Naciones Unidas* (Montevideo: Comando General de la Armada, Noviembre 2004), 61.

³³⁸ Departamento de Logística de Misiones de Paz, 3. It is important to state that besides its presence in the country’s Economic Exclusive Zone (Southwestern Atlantic Ocean), the Uruguayan Navy also operates in two rivers: the River Plate and the Uruguay River. The last one (nearly 340 kilometer long) borders Argentina and presents similar challenges to the navigation the Congo River does. In addition, the Uruguayan Navy is studying the possibility of deploying a detachment to the Merín Lagoon along the Uruguay-Brazil border which somehow presents navigation patterns like the ones found at Lakes Kivu and Eduardo on the DRC-Rwandan border.

Moreover, for the Uruguayan Navy, peacekeeping operations have constituted opportunities to deploy naval infantry units (marines) and to make choices for testing command and control structures and leadership.³³⁹ The important effect that peacekeeping missions have had on Uruguayan Navy training was noted by its Commander in Chief in November 2004, on the occasion of the 187th Navy anniversary:

The participation in peacekeeping missions, absolutely voluntary, has constituted an extremely positive element with fundamental incidence on the personnel's moral, **training and experience**.³⁴⁰

Furthermore, the Uruguayan Navy has recently accomplished two additional tasks related to the importance of international peacekeeping, besides still being committed in the DRC and Haiti. First, in April 2005, the Navy incorporated a command and control/general support ship. Among its various missions, this ship will be used as freighter to deliver logistical support for a peacekeeping force.³⁴¹ Second, in June 2005, the Navy participated in a multinational peacekeeping exercise. It was a "cabinet" exercise co-organized by the U.S. Naval War College and the *Escuela de Guerra Naval del Uruguay* (Uruguayan Naval War College). The exercise, called "Peacekeeper 05," took place in Newport, Rhode Island, home of the U.S. Naval War College. The exercise simulated peacekeeping situations for a force deployed in Haiti. Among other tasks, "peacekeepers" were called upon to act as a "humanitarian intervention" force.³⁴² This approach is consistent with the "responsibility to protect" concept, which was previously analyzed in this Chapter.

Although it has participated to a lesser degree in peacekeeping deployments compared to the Army and the Navy, the Uruguayan Air Force has integrated personnel

³³⁹ Departamento de Logística de Misiones de Paz, 2-3.

³⁴⁰ Vice-Admiral Tabaré Daners "187 Aniversario de la Armada Nacional, Discurso del Sr. Comandante en Jefe de la Armada Vice Almirante Tabaré Daners Eyra," Departamento de Relaciones Públicas de la Armada, Montevideo, Noviembre 15, 2004, http://www.armada.gub.uy/Comar/Repar/Noticias/ultimas/dia_armada_2004/dia_armada_2004.htm (accessed September 30, 2005). Emphasis added.

³⁴¹ Ibid.

³⁴² "Juego de Guerra 'Peacekeeper 05'," Departamento de Relaciones Públicas de la Armada, Montevideo, August 5, 2005, http://www.armada.gub.uy/Comar/Repar/Noticias/ultimas/juego_guerra_peacekeeper/juego_guerra_peacekeeper.htm (accessed October 9, 2005).

into the other services' components. Most important, since 2003 the Uruguayan Air Force has been managing the UN Medevac (medical aero-evacuation) unit on the Ethiopia-Eritrea border, where it operates its own helicopters. This has allowed the Air Force to keep its pilots and personnel trained in one of the tasks usually carried out in Uruguay, which is especially important given current budget constraints.³⁴³

2. Re-equipment

Upgrading military equipment has always been an issue in Uruguay, a developing country with a small economy. Today, keeping military gear from becoming obsolete and useless is even more difficult in light of the need to satisfy other essential social needs. The current leftist government prepared the country's budget with no consideration for military re-equipment.³⁴⁴ In doing so, the government tried to assign 4.5% of the GDP to education.³⁴⁵

For the military, although lack of sufficient funding for re-equipment has been common in the last decades, today's "picture" seems even worse. In this sense, since the Uruguayan military began participating in peacekeeping operations, UN refunds for wear and tear and loss or destruction of equipment have constituted an "extra-budget" source of income. According to Army Major Alfredo Fulloni, UN reimbursement has allowed the Uruguayan Army to provide for gear maintenance, refurbishment and

³⁴³ Lieutenant General (Av.) Enrique Bonelli, "Discurso del Sr. Comandante en Jefe de la Fuerza Aérea Uruguaya, Teniente General (Av.) Dn. Enrique Bonelli, con motivo de la Ceremonia del '92 Aniversario de la Aviación Militar' y 'Día de la Fuerza Aérea'," Fuerza Aérea Uruguaya, Montevideo, Marzo 17, 2005, <http://fau.gub.uy/#> (accessed September 30, 2005). Also "Aniversario del Escuadrón Aéreo No. 5 de la FAU, Observatorio Cono Sur de Defensa y Fuerzas Armadas (Informe Uruguay No. 203, período del 23/07/05 al 29/07/05, Montevideo, Uruguay), www.observatorioconosur.com.ar (accessed October 9, 2005).

³⁴⁴ Presidencia de la República Oriental del Uruguay, "Proyecto de Presupuesto Nacional," Montevideo, 31 de Agosto de 2005, 8, 16, 54, <http://www.presidencia.gub.uy/Web/proyectos/2005/08/cm117.pdf>. Also, "Análisis: Presupuesto de Guerra," Observatorio Cono Sur de Defensa y Fuerzas Armadas (Informe Uruguay No. 208, período del 27/08/05 al 02/09/05, Montevideo, Uruguay), www.observatorioconosur.com.ar (accessed September 5, 2005).

³⁴⁵ Presidencia de la República Oriental del Uruguay, "Proyecto de..., 18, <http://www.presidencia.gub.uy/Web/proyectos/2005/08/cm117.pdf> (accessed October 17, 2005).

modernization.³⁴⁶ The Army created its own internal “UN money” distribution system, whereby it established the amount to be distributed to each peacekeeper according to his rank and responsibilities. In doing so, the Army has saved approximately USD 50,000 monthly, which has allowed the institution to cover some essential needs created by the shortage of government funding.³⁴⁷ As Lieutenant General Angel Bertolotti, Commander in Chief of the Army, pointed out in March 2005 during his discourse commemorating the 194th Army anniversary

The task which has been carried out [peacekeeping] not only demonstrated the Armed Forces usefulness as proper tool in support of the state foreign policy but also has constituted a considerable source of income either at the individual level, for the servicemen who have volunteered for those missions or at the institutional level, for accomplishing gear **maintenance** and **re-equipment**.³⁴⁸

UN refunds have become more important for the Army than before, insofar as the UN changed its refund process to a new, more “beneficial” (albeit stricter) system. For example, for the deployment of peacekeeping contingents, the Uruguayan Army may be refunded as much as twice what it would have received under the old UN refund system.³⁴⁹

Moreover, the Uruguayan Navy is being refunded for the operation of riverine crafts in the DRC at approximately twice their original value because this equipment is considered “special gear” and is being operated under “extreme environmental conditions,” “intensified operational conditions,” and because it is subjected to “hostile action.”³⁵⁰ The most remarkable argument illustrating the importance that peacekeeping has had on Navy re-equipment comes from the Naval Staff Peacekeeping Logistics

³⁴⁶ Alfredo Fulloni, “El Ejército Uruguayo y su Participación en Misiones de Paz, su Incidencia en el Funcionamiento del Mismo, Lineamientos para Optimizar su Eficiencia Particularmente en los Aspectos de Reclutamiento, Concentración, Instrucción y Logística.” Monograph for the Army Staff Course, Escuela de Comando y Estado Mayor del Ejército, Montevideo, Uruguay, 1997, 64.

³⁴⁷ Ibid., 37.

³⁴⁸ Lieutenant General Angel Bertolotti, “Discurso Pronunciado por el Señor Comandante en Jefe del Ejército, Teniente General Don Angel Bertolotti,” Comando General del Ejército, Montevideo, Mayo 18, 2005, <http://www.ejercito.mil.uy/rpp/pceremonial.htm> (accessed September 30, 2005). Emphasis added.

³⁴⁹ Fulloni., 40.

³⁵⁰ Departamento de Logística de Misiones de Paz, 4.

Department, “The Navy has palliated the difficult economic situation thanks to the expenses received from the UN, which operated as lungs under the ongoing budget constraints.”³⁵¹

The Air Force may be the service which most depends on UN refunds. As mentioned previously, although its participation in peacekeeping is less than the Army and the Navy, the high cost of aircraft maintenance and flight training paired with budget cuts has placed the Uruguayan Air Force’s efficiency in jeopardy. Therefore, if the Air Force is inhibited from receiving UN refunds due to a lack of involvement in further peacekeeping operations, its already minimal readiness will collapse. The extent to which Air Force readiness has been undermined by the lack of adequate funding was summarized by the leftist Chairman of the Defense Committee of the Senate, “The flying assets are out of order in a very high percentage. If a drastic change is not made in the budget the Air Force disappears.”³⁵²

However, UN refunds have not always been received “on time.” This has caused a lag between investment of money by the military (which is tantamount to saying by the state) to equip and supply a peacekeeping force at the early stages of its deployment and receipt of the UN refunds. Many times this lag has lasted more than a year. For example, in 1995, the Uruguayan Army had invested a total of nearly USD 11 million for its commitments in Cambodia (1991-1993, USD 2 million), Mozambique (1992-1994, USD 8 million) and its ongoing deployment in Angola (1995-1999, USD 800,000 just in 1995). By the end of 1995, when the Army was still deployed in Angola, the UN still owed refunds for about USD 7 million.³⁵³ Concerning the Navy, recent numbers reflect that the initial cost of equipping a DRC-type riverine company (including the purchase of

³⁵¹ Departamento de Logística de Misiones de Paz, 4.

³⁵² “Presupuesto de las Fuerzas Armadas,” Observatorio Cono Sur de Defensa y Fuerzas Armadas (Informe Uruguay No. 203, período del 23/07/05 al 29/07/05, Montevideo, Uruguay), www.observatorioconosur.com.ar (accessed August 8, 2005).

³⁵³ Sergio Rico and Renato Manzo, “El Aporte en Material y Equipo de las Unidades para Dotar a los Contingentes que Cumplen Misiones de Paz. El Posterior Reintegro de ese Material y Equipo. Observaciones y Sugerencias para Mejorar los Criterios Empleados hasta el Presente.” Monograph for the Army Staff Course, Escuela de Comando y Estado Mayor del Ejército, Montevideo, Uruguay, 1995, 15, Anexo No.1. The study shows that in 1995 the UN still owed Uruguay USD 1 million (Cambodia), USD 5 million (Mozambique) and USD 800.000 (Angola).

two fast patrol boats with machineguns and ten rubber boats with overboard engines) requires almost USD 4 million. Further, troop replacements are cheaper because the “heavy” gear has already been incorporated - this cost involves a little bit less than USD 3 million.³⁵⁴

In March 2003, ten years after the mission in Cambodia ended, the Uruguayan delegation before the UN Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations voiced its concerns over UN financial problems and their effects on peacekeeping refunds. At that time, the UN still owed Uruguay refunds for its participation in the UN mission in Cambodia. What most worried the Uruguayan representatives was the continuity of that situation in light of ongoing commitments, especially in the DRC, where the country had deployed nearly 1700 troops (almost 10% of the total Uruguayan military).³⁵⁵ Furthermore, in May 2003, the UN had already canceled part of the payment for troop commitment, but it still owed refunds for equipment wear and tear. The Uruguayan delegation emphasized its concerns on that account and demanded alternative solutions.³⁵⁶ In this sense, Army Major Rivera Elgue argued in 1999 that an option might have been to exchange the UN debt for UN assets and equipment of interest to the Uruguayan Army.³⁵⁷

Based on the UN refund lag argument, Julián González, a leftist advisor in defense and military issues,³⁵⁸ argued in 2002 that the government (at that time under the *Partido Colorado*) should have studied whether or not it was beneficial for the military

³⁵⁴ Departamento de Logística de Misiones de Paz, Anexo.

³⁵⁵ Misión Permanente del Uruguay ante las Naciones Unidas, “Intervención de la Delegación del Uruguay ante el Comité Especial de Operaciones de Mantenimiento de la Paz,” Quinta Comisión, 58º Período Ordinario de Sesiones de la Asamblea General de las Naciones Unidas, Nueva York, 17 de Marzo de 2003, <http://www.un.int/uruguay/discursos/OMP3marzo03esp.htm> (accessed May 12, 2005).

³⁵⁶ Misión Permanente del Uruguay ante las Naciones Unidas, “Intervención del Delegado del Uruguay Sr. Santiago Wins, ‘Aspectos Administrativos y Presupuestarios de la Financiación de las Operaciones de Naciones Unidas para el Mantenimiento de la Paz’,” <http://www.un.int/uruguay/discursos/omp7mayo03.htm> (accessed May 12, 2005).

³⁵⁷ Rivera Elgue, “Aporte del Material, Equipo y Soporte Logístico, para los Contingentes que Cumplen Misiones de Paz.” Monograph for the Army Staff Course, Escuela de Comando y Estado Mayor del Ejército, Montevideo, Uruguay, 1999, 69.

³⁵⁸ Julián González is a political scientist, who has been a leftist advisor in defense and military affairs. He has also managed a Uruguayan academic forum called Observatorio Cono Sur de Defensa y Fuerzas Armadas, which has affiliates in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile.

and for the state as a whole to take part in increasing numbers of costly peacekeeping operations.³⁵⁹ González demanded information transparency, because for him, faced with budget cuts, to assemble and prepare a peacekeeping force required large sums of state money. In this regard, he argued that in addition to the necessary equipment, the troops to be committed also consume other “goods” that are not always analyzed. These goods include specific medical care before and after deployment, training and the additional one and a half salary required by law to be paid to all military personnel deployed overseas.³⁶⁰ The point González made was that the cost of a peacekeeping mission is higher than believed due to other “collateral” costs. The “real” cost of preparing a peacekeeping mission, in conjunction with the UN refund lag, has resulted in a “ceiling” regarding the commitment of troops to peacekeeping, which is also related to the minimum force needed to cope with domestic missions and duties.³⁶¹

However, this problem has not yet been seriously addressed by the Uruguayan government, either the historical parties or the current leftist one. Also, academic papers and “open” documents show only the “visible” costs of a peacekeeping mission, but do not allow us to see what I would call the “hidden” costs. As González pointed out three years ago, those hidden costs have not always been calculated. In my opinion, this is because some of those expenditures fall under the general services provided by the Ministry of Defense as a whole (such as medical care and food) and other goods (such as training and uniforms) fall under the ordinary duties of each service. Nevertheless, to train, equip, care, feed and dress peacekeepers requires additional resources.

Despite the UN refund lag, peacekeeping operations still seem to be the solution to the Uruguayan military’s budget problem. At the end of the day, the UN eventually refunds the country. According to Rial, between 1991 and 2002, the Uruguayan Armed Forces received USD 129 million, which constituted nearly the entire annual Defense

³⁵⁹ Julián González, “FFAA en Tiempos de Escasez: El Riesgo de ‘Desnaturalización Funcional’,” Observatorio Cono Sur de Defensa y Fuerzas Armadas (Informe de Coyuntura No. 3, Octubre 2002, Montevideo, Uruguay), 2, www.observatorioconosur.com.ar (accessed August 3, 2005).

³⁶⁰ Ibid., 3. At present the law changed and military personnel overseas earn just an additional 50% of the salary. The issue is that the government must also provide the social security savings for that half additional salary.

³⁶¹ M. Casacuberta, “Hay Oferta Para Más Misiones de Paz, pero Uruguay no da Abasto,” *El Observador*, Sección Opinión, September 27, 2002, 3.

budget during the same time period.³⁶² Rial also points out that since 2002, in light of the important Uruguayan commitment to the UN mission in the DRC, the military has received approximately USD 20 million annually. Considering the Uruguayan currency devaluation of the same year in regard to the U.S. dollar and the 2004 budget cuts, USD 20 million represented almost one third of what was assigned by the government to the defense budget.³⁶³ In addition, the UN refunds the Uruguayan military almost USD 400 monthly in additional payments for each serviceman deployed on a peacekeeping mission, to cover individual equipment, ammunition and as a premium for sending special-skills personnel.³⁶⁴ This “parallel” income has kept the Uruguayan military “alive.” This is why the Army is now assessing the commitment of a peacekeeping force to Sudan, which would be bigger than the one deployed in the DRC. In this regard, although the Army is almost on the edge of being able to deploy more troops overseas, additional UN peacekeeping efforts are seen as the only viable solution for remaining operative in light of the extremely negative budget situation.³⁶⁵

3. Welfare of Personnel and Other Externalities

The welfare of personnel was another area that benefited from the Uruguayan commitment to peacekeeping operations. According to Army sources, an officer usually earns ten times his regular Army salary when engaged in UN peacekeeping missions.³⁶⁶ The direct consequence of these improved wages is that the money is then spent in Uruguay. As Bertolotti pointed out, “The collection [of money] on that account [peacekeeping] is, in fact, a source of genuine income which substantially supports in high degree the reactivation of the domestic economy.”³⁶⁷ Indeed, a press article argued that nearly USD 2,500,000 have monthly impacted the Uruguayan domestic economy.

³⁶² Juan Rial, “La Relevancia de las Misiones de Paz para las FFAA de Uruguay,” *Revista Naval* no. 50 (Club Naval del Uruguay, September 2005), 10.

³⁶³ *Ibid.*, 11.

³⁶⁴ Departamento de Logística de Misiones de Paz, Anexo.

³⁶⁵ “Ejército Evalúa Participar en una Nueva Misión de ONU en Sudán,” Observatorio Cono Sur de Defensa y Fuerzas Armadas (Informe Uruguay No. 212, período del 24/09/05 al 30/09/05, Montevideo, Uruguay), www.observatorioconosur.com.ar (accessed October 3, 2005).

³⁶⁶ Sala, “Nuevo Gobierno Participará...”

³⁶⁷ Bertolotti.

This has had positive effects in both small store holders and tax revenues. The fact that enlisted men usually live in the less developed areas of Uruguay caused that 52% of the “UN money” has been spent in paying personal debts in locations where less than 30% of the Uruguayan people live. In this regard, 97% of the enlisted men and 87% of their families consider the participation in peacekeeping as “very positive.”³⁶⁸

Moreover, Rial argues that since Uruguay began participating in international peacekeeping in 1991, USD 140 million has entered the Uruguayan economy.³⁶⁹ As an example of the effect of “UN money” (refunds and peacekeeping wages) on the domestic economy in 2002, the “peacekeeping income,” which according to Rial was USD 20 million,³⁷⁰ exceeded the income from both lamb meat exports (USD 18.4 million) and mineral products (USD 16.4 million).³⁷¹

The field that needs to be improved is the exploitation of commercial links with countries where a Uruguayan peacekeeping force has been deployed. The lack of increased trade or business with those countries demonstrates that this issue has not yet been properly addressed. According to Rial, Uruguayan foreign relations have not profited from the participation of the military in peacekeeping. For example, after successful operations in Cambodia, Uruguay has no diplomatic relations with that country, or with Mozambique, Angola or the DRC. The Uruguayan embassy in South Africa is in charge of taking care of what happens in those African countries where a consulate is honorarily served.³⁷² Uruguay should consider more seriously the fact that in all those countries, enormous economic interests have shaped their existence. Uruguay should have used the military deployments as a tool for projecting not only foreign policy, but also commercial concerns.

³⁶⁸ “Misiones de Paz Dejaron en Cuatro Años U\$S 80 millones en el comercio minorista,” *Ultimas Noticias*, Sección Información General, October 24, 2005, 5, <http://www.ultimasnoticias.com.uy/hemeroteca/241005/prints/act07.html> (accessed October 26, 2005).

³⁶⁹ Rial, 12.

³⁷⁰ Rial’s budget information is reliable insofar as it is based on governmental published information.

³⁷¹ “Uruguay Obtiene Ingresos de 20 mdd por Misiones de Paz de la ONU,” *Diario del Pueblo*, May 26, 2003, http://spanish.people.com.cn/spanish/200305/26/sp20030526_64490.html (accessed September 30, 2005).

³⁷² Rial, 11.

An Army paper suggests that peacekeeping operations might constitute a window of opportunity for Uruguayan trade and the establishment of medium and small enterprises.³⁷³ The paper deals with the UN purchasing system and provides a list of goods and services frequently purchased by the UN. The “hook” of selling services and goods to the UN relies on the UN’s seriousness and a low risk involved in the commercial transactions.³⁷⁴ According to Rial, Uruguay sold the UN some water purification units (an Army-state owned Water Enterprise joint project) designated for post-conflict countries.³⁷⁵ On that account, a press article argued that the state-owned Water Enterprise (OSE) earned about USD 2,500,000.³⁷⁶ Additionally the state-owned/private shared capital Air Line Enterprise (PLUNA) earned nearly USD 2,000,000 for having transported Uruguayan peacekeeping troops overseas.³⁷⁷ González is more cautious about the prospects of selling more water purification units or other services/goods, because for him, the UN is often influenced by powerful interest groups.³⁷⁸

Moreover, the UN peacekeeping wages, plus the fifty percent increase in the Uruguayan Army regular salary, helped military personnel in general and the enlisted men in particular improve their social status in specific areas, such as housing. This has caused the military personnel to repeatedly volunteer for peacekeeping.³⁷⁹ In addition, because there is a slight difference in what the UN pays depending on each mission’s risk assessment, there have been increasing numbers of volunteers for those riskier missions (better paid) at the expense of volunteers for the safer ones (worse paid).³⁸⁰ Another

³⁷³ Carlos Delgado, “Las Operaciones de Mantenimiento de Paz como Impulsoras del Comercio Exterior,” based on an e-mail communiqué on August 31, 2005. Carlos Delgado is a Uruguayan Army Colonel with vast experience in peacekeeping. He served in the Sinai Peninsula, Cambodia and the DRC.

³⁷⁴ Ibid.

³⁷⁵ Rial, 12.

³⁷⁶ “Misiones de Paz Dejaron en Cuatro Años...”

³⁷⁷ Ibid. Also Yamandú Sala, “Uruguay: Pluna Llevará a los Soldados Uruguayos que Viajen a Haití,” Cooperación Portal Uruguay, August 6, 2004, <http://www.onunet.org.uy/modules.php?op=modload&name=News&file=article&sid=338> (accessed September 9, 2005).

³⁷⁸ González, 2.

³⁷⁹ Fulloni, 35. Also Departamento de Logística de Misiones de Paz, 2.

³⁸⁰ Ibid., 34.

benefit mandated by Uruguayan law is that time spent serving in peacekeeping missions is considered double time.³⁸¹

Institutionally, the military has also benefited from its personnel's economic improvement. Before participating in peacekeeping, many enlisted men, and increasingly more officers, had been moonlighting in order to improve their economic situation. This negatively impacted the esprit de corps and service loyalty. Economic improvement on account of peacekeeping had a twofold effect. It contributed to the welfare of personnel and reinforced their commitment to the military profession.³⁸² As a result, the command, which had been forced to reduce discipline and professional requirements in order to retain personnel, was able to increase readiness and began trusting its troops again. In this sense, by selecting personnel to be deployed to a peacekeeping mission, the command has a "carrot" to offer to their troops in times when other economic or professional benefits are scarce.

Other externalities were also militarily beneficial. Perhaps the most important was to develop a consolidated doctrine for peacekeeping logistical support. As noted by the Army Commander in Chief in his 196th Army anniversary speech

This experience [logistic support for peacekeeping] is something which at the beginning resulted in a severe challenge, but today it has evolved into an acquired capability that surpasses even the comparative parameters with highly developed countries across the world.³⁸³

In this sense, Elgue argues that for the Uruguayan Army, the first peacekeeping operations constituted a "test-case" for Army logistics, because the initial support relied on the Army's allowance.³⁸⁴ A good by-product of this fact in regard to the UN refund system is that it compels the state to maintain military gear in good shape in order to be deployed on time. By the same token, weapons and procedures need to be tested prior to

³⁸¹ Fulloni, 34.

³⁸² Ramón Barboza, Hugo Molins, Luis Episcopo and Washington Vignola, "Las Misiones de Paz: La Proyección de la Imagen del Ejército, su Repercusión sobre la Moral de sus Integrantes y sobre el Funcionamiento del Mismo." Paper presented at the Instituto Militar de Estudios Superiores, Ejército Nacional, Montevideo, Uruguay, 1995, 31.

³⁸³ Bertolotti.

³⁸⁴ Elgue, 41.

deployment. For a country with a small defense budget like Uruguay, this represents a way to maintain troops and equipment in a good condition of readiness. Having personnel available to relieve a deployed peacekeeping unit creates the need for constant training, which at the end of the day improves the general readiness of the military.

The dark side of peacekeeping, especially UN Chapter VII operations, is the eventuality of suffering casualties. However, statistics indicate that Uruguayan casualties are extremely low. This is in part because Uruguay has participated primarily in Chapter VI operations. To suggest participation in Chapter VII might imply a larger number of casualties. But, as Army Colonel Gaspar Barrabino points out, every peacekeeping operation has its risks, regardless of which Chapter applies. In this sense, he says that Uruguayan personnel have been involved in many firefights and some have died. He concludes that risk is part of military activity.³⁸⁵ General Fígoli addressed the same topic in 1996, but the interesting insight in his analysis was to note that traffic accidents (among vehicles of any sort) are a frequent cause of deaths in peacekeeping operations.³⁸⁶ Indeed, almost ten years later, a newspaper article revealed that traffic accidents have been the main cause of Uruguayan casualties in peacekeeping missions. The current leftist Minister of Defense expressed her concerns but it was demonstrated that the places where peacekeepers drive literally lack the minimum standards for driving safely, due to poor road conditions, permanent crossing of any type of vehicles, animals, people and a complete absence of the rule of law.³⁸⁷

³⁸⁵ Gaspar Barrabino, “Misiones de Paz de la ONU, Uruguay ¿Capítulo VI o VII?” Questionnaire given to peacekeeping trainees at the Escuela de Operaciones de Paz del Ejército, Montevideo, Uruguay, 2005, 4-5. (e-mailed). Colonel Barrabino serves at *SINOMAPA* and has a vast experience in peacekeeping. He participated in many peacekeeping operations and also served for three years at the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (1999-2002).

³⁸⁶ General Heber Fígoli, “Fuerzas de Mantenimiento de la Paz de las Naciones Unidas.” Dissertation at the Ministry of Defense of Uruguay, 1996, 97.

³⁸⁷ Mauricio Almada, “Tránsito Mortal en Misiones de Paz,” *El Observador*, Sección Tribuna, 10, June 16, 2005.

C. UN CHAPTER VII OPERATIONS, URUGUAY'S IMAGE IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA, THE DOMESTIC MILITARY IMAGE AND CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS

1. International and Domestic Image

By broadening military participation in UN Chapter VII peacekeeping operations, both the government and the military would be “allies” in projecting the state foreign policy into Third World regions in conflict, where the expertise and empathy of a “stable” and “credible” developing country (Uruguay) would be appreciated. Indeed, the Uruguayan military has already been successfully managing issues related to post-conflict support operations. That happened in cases such as Cambodia and Mozambique, which are considered successful by the UN.

In both cases, Uruguayan troops were responsible for improving security conditions and overseeing the electoral process. In Uruguay, elections are held and overseen by political and electoral authorities, but the Uruguayan military has responsibility for the security of the poll stations. Although this specific task is not political at all, it allows the Uruguayan military to become familiar with the set up and management of a poll station. This experience has been extremely valuable in post-conflict environments where establishing an electoral process followed the peace settlement.³⁸⁸ Indeed, General Bertolotti named his expectations regarding Army capabilities and morale in his 196th Army anniversary speech, “We want an army that is motivated because it values the professional work it does, and the professional work it will continue to do, to meet the requirements of the civil society it serves.”³⁸⁹

I argue that peacekeeping contributes to the image Bertolotti wanted the Uruguayan society to have about the Army. Moreover, academic literature pertinent to the Army is consistent with the positive image of the country that peacekeeping has created, and especially with the positive image of the Army within the society, an issue that seemed to have Bertolotti worried. This is exactly what Julián González argues. For him, peacekeeping missions constitute an opportunity to gain prestige. But most important, although he is critical of the Uruguayan commitment to peacekeeping

³⁸⁸ Bertolotti.

³⁸⁹ Ibid.

operations due to their financial cost and the loss of domestic readiness, he recognizes that those missions have contributed to the country's prestige in the international arena.³⁹⁰ The most critical argument in this regard comes from Juan Rial. He says that international prestige should be carefully analyzed. Rial argues that the press in New York has lately undermined the Uruguayan Army's "prestige" citing a lack of response to violent incidents in the Eastern DRC as evidence of the Army's weakness.³⁹¹ The fact of the matter was that the Uruguayan Army did not have the mandate to use force other than for self-defense.

I argue that the problem occurred when the Uruguayan parliament was discussing whether or not to authorize troops to use force when the UN changed MONUC's mandate to "full" Chapter VII. But the issue existed and in order to maintain the prestige already earned, the Uruguayan politicians need to demonstrate no domestic hesitation about what activities the troops are allowed to perform. Under current circumstances, Chapter VII will be the framework for future peacekeeping operations. If politicians do not realize that changes have occurred when addressing peace and international security, there will be no future opportunities for the Uruguayan military to participate in peacekeeping operations. Analyzing the current world context is essential to understanding that traditional peacekeeping has evolved into robust peacekeeping. This evolution makes it necessary for the military to adapt its doctrine in that regard. This is what Bertolotti tried to transmit when he said

These agendas [military strategy, Army missions, doctrine, deployment and equipment] must be designed while keeping in mind that globalization is the reality of our contemporary world and the context in which we live. We must take account of this reality when we establish goals and objectives, and the paths that lead to them. If we do not understand this, if we do not realize that the regional and global reality is very different from that which existed thirty years ago, if we remain attached to outlooks and schema from the past, if we naively believe that things are as we would like them to be or as we obstinately believe they still are, and not as they really are, we run the risk of eroding the credibility, harming the

³⁹⁰ González, 2, 3.

³⁹¹ Juan Rial, based on an e-mail communiqué on July 20, 2005.

usefulness, or diminishing the chance that the nation will insert itself in the real world in which all these situations manifest themselves.³⁹²

In other words, from this extract of Bertolotti's speech, we can deduce that because the regional context has become more stable on account of the confidence measures that South American countries have developed in the last decade, former threats in the region have become unlikely. Therefore, the South American military (especially the armies) should emphasize their commitment to peacekeeping. As explained in the previous chapter, peacekeeping by no means constitutes a threat to a regional neighbor, and to close regional links for peacekeeping is a political decision, like the ones adopted to improve regional trade.

It may seem as if the country's image is suffering, but evidence suggests the opposite, especially concerning the major Chapter VII Uruguayan commitment, the UN mission in the DRC. The Uruguayan Navy has received many congratulations and demonstrations of gratitude for their participation in the DRC mission. In fact, the Uruguayan Navy riverine companies in the DRC are so valued by the community that the local media said the youth adopted Spanish as a third language (in addition to Lingala and French).³⁹³ Furthermore, the UN Deputy for Kindú (a DRC city alongside the Congo River), stated that with the re-deployment of the Uruguayan Navy riverine company to the lakes region, the Kindú population would miss the wide array of services the Navy carried out. On that account it was known as the "Sí" (yes) company, for it did all it was asked.³⁹⁴ Then, MONUC's magazine said that after four years of presence in the Congo River, ensuring safer navigation, performing search and rescue and helping people in danger alongside the banks of the river, the Uruguayan Navy riverine company enjoys enormous respect among the local population.³⁹⁵ Finally, the UN Force Commander in the DRC also expressed his gratitude for the riverine companies. He lamented having just two units. The Uruguayan Navy riverine companies were responsible for opening the

³⁹² Bertolotti.

³⁹³ "Versiones de Prensa sobre Nuestros Cascos Azules," *Esa Proa, Noticias Navales*, No. 1, Año 2, May 2005.

³⁹⁴ Ibid.

³⁹⁵ Ibid.

Congo River, the main inland line of communication. In doing so, the riverine companies made it possible for local riverine traffic, such as “pushers” (big flat cargo crafts) full of commercial loads and people, to navigate the river. More than 1600 kms were opened for free and safer navigation. Also, the riverine companies saved more than 4500 people from dying in the waters of the Congo River. Even the less literate people appreciated these accomplishments.³⁹⁶ Lately, the Uruguayan Navy riverine company deployed in Lake Albert engaged in a firefight with rebel groups. That occurred while carrying out a raid to rescue Guatemalan Special Forces that were surrounded in desperate situation after successive ground and air extraction had failed.³⁹⁷ In addition, the UN Force Commander noted that the Uruguayan Army troops constituted his reserve force in light of their demonstrated skills and cohesion.³⁹⁸ So, the Uruguayan military has been doing well in peacekeeping, especially concerning its most important and costly (for both Uruguay and the UN) peacekeeping operation (DRC), which is in fact, a Chapter VII mission.

2. Domestic Civil-Military Relations

One of the measures that contributes to good civil-military relations is peacekeeping. According to Desch, peacekeeping has been suitable for countries that fit his low internal-low external “threat matrix.”³⁹⁹ The following diagram shows the evaluation of Uruguay’s threats and their effect on civil-military relations.

³⁹⁶ María Urruzola, “El Congo Busca su Democracia en la Desigualdad,” Montevideo Comm, May 5, 2005, http://portal2005.montevideo.com.uy/noticia_17933_1.html (accessed July 4, 2005).

³⁹⁷ Vice-Admiral Tabaré Daners “Discurso del Sr. Comandante en Jefe de la Armada Vice Almirante Tabaré Daners Eyra con motivo del 188 Aniversario de la Armada Nacional,” Departamento de Relaciones Públicas de la Armada, Montevideo, Noviembre 15, 2005, http://www.armada.gub.uy/Comar/Repar/Noticias/ultimas/discurso_comar/discurso_comar.htm (accessed November 17, 2005).

³⁹⁸ Ibid.

³⁹⁹ Desch, 121-122.

		External Threats	
		High	Low
Internal Threats	High	Poor	Worst
	Low	Good	Mixed

Figure 12. Desch's Threat Matrix. Civilian Control of the Military as a Function of Location and Intensity of Threats (Uruguay's assessment is highlighted) (From: Desch).

The Uruguayan threat matrix requires assessing an adequate military doctrine in order to ensure good civil-military relations.⁴⁰⁰ This constitutes an unexpected window of opportunity, because, as we saw, General Bertolotti has asked for the design of an “upgraded” Army doctrine.⁴⁰¹ What Bertolotti seemed to address was the Army's need to evolve into a postmodern institution after having successfully accomplished its traditional peacekeeping role.⁴⁰² According to Moskos, et al., the postmodern military is characterized by organizational changes (exactly what Bertolotti asked). One of those changes refers to the use of the military under international mandate (i.e., peacekeeping), legitimized by supranational entities (i.e., the UN).⁴⁰³ Indeed, Moskos, et al., argue that peacekeeping and humanitarian missions, which may be tantamount to saying “humanitarian intervention” or the “responsibility to protect” approach, constitute a major part of current military doctrine worldwide (again, this reminds us of Bertolotti's concerns about doctrine).⁴⁰⁴

The leftist government promised an open debate on national defense policy. This has not happened yet. Nevertheless, domestic issues might make consensus-building difficult. On the one hand, the left is still anchored in old concepts of power relations and

⁴⁰⁰ Desch, 116.

⁴⁰¹ Bertolotti.

⁴⁰² Charles C. Moskos, John Allen Williams and David R. Segal, “Armed Forces After the Cold War,” in *The Postmodern Military* ed. Charles C. Moskos, John Allen Williams and David R. Segal (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 2.

⁴⁰³ Ibid. Also see footnote 402.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid., 3. Also see footnote 402.

homeland defense. As we saw, the main leftist document on armed forces and national defense evidences a distrust of any continental or international Uruguayan military commitment.⁴⁰⁵ Julián González, a co-author of that document, argued against an increment of what he calls “functional denaturalization” of the military. He said that “non-substantial” duties such as peacekeeping conspire against readiness for the military’s main role, which is defense of the homeland.⁴⁰⁶ On the other hand, the military has improved its participation in peacekeeping, is proud of this improvement and demands to continue participating.⁴⁰⁷ So, different domestic approaches will result in an active and vehement debate and civil-military relations may suffer.⁴⁰⁸

However, a good indicator of the evolution of leftist military doctrine was recently noted. Because the left is currently in power, it was faced with the dilemma of whether or not to initiate the message to parliament asking for authorization to allow the Navy to participate in the 2005 UNITAS operation (involving the U.S. and other regional navies). The dilemma was posed insofar as the left had systematically opposed Uruguayan participation in that operation. Two things happened. First, the leftist government sent the request to parliament asking for its approval. Second, the two parliamentary chambers (Senate and House of Representatives) approved the request. Therefore, the Uruguayan Navy is now taking part in the 2005 UNITAS with the support of an unexpected favorable leftist vote. Yet, not all leftist members of parliament gave their support. Many of them opposed Uruguayan participation, so internal divisions undermined the former leftist cohesion.⁴⁰⁹

Meanwhile, the leftist government is carrying out excavations in military installations, looking for the remains of the disappeared people, a tragedy that occurred under the dictatorship in power from 1973 to 1985. The Commanders in Chief of the

⁴⁰⁵ “Defensa Nacional y Fuerzas Armadas en la República Oriental del Uruguay,” (Montevideo, Comisión Permanente de Defensa del Frente Amplio, Ámbito de Trabajo, 2004, e-mail communiqué on July 11, 2005), II, Arts. 5, 9; III, Art. 6; Parte II, Arts. 3, 13.

⁴⁰⁶ González, 1-4.

⁴⁰⁷ Bertolotti. Also Daners, and Bonelli.

⁴⁰⁸ Moskos, et al., 275.

⁴⁰⁹ “Partió el Buque General Artigas para Participar de las UNITAS,” *Observa*, October 10, 2005, <http://www.observa.com.uy/Osecciones/actualidad/nota.aspx?id=39108> (accessed October 10, 2005).

services submitted official reports with information about where to find those remains. The problem with these excavations is that no remains have yet been found. This lack of findings has divided public and political opinion, though the Commanders in Chief are still loyal to the president and he still trusts them. However, if remains are not located in the near future (two months have passed since the excavations began in August 2005), civil-military relations may deteriorate.⁴¹⁰ Despite this unfavorable environment for good civil-military relations, I think that this is precisely the window of opportunity needed to achieve consensus on UN Chapter VII peacekeeping, the same way authorization was finally obtained for UNITAS participation. By the same token, the Commanders in Chief have demonstrated good will by collaborating with the government in the effort to clarify the destiny of the disappeared people.

In the meantime, Uruguay should not remain outside what is occurring in today's world. For the military, this means participation in peacekeeping in order to consolidate its acquired experience and to exploit this experience in further peacekeeping or humanitarian missions, which as we saw, will be set up under Chapter VII. For example, extra-regional powers such as China and Spain have become involved in the Chapter VII mission in Haiti. China attempts to show its presence in a region where many countries recognize Taiwan as the only legitimate "China."⁴¹¹ Spain participates with a combined Spanish-Moroccan unit. Spain's objective is to evaluate the behavior of a combined Christian-Islamic military battalion.⁴¹² Finally, the main command positions in Haiti are held by the Southern Cone of South American countries, except for Uruguay, which rejected being part of the "deal." As a result, the majority of the command positions were assigned to countries with less troop contributions than Uruguay, including Paraguayans and Bolivians, who do not "supply" troops.⁴¹³

⁴¹⁰ An extensive coverage of this issue may be found in many reports made by the Observatorio Cono Sur de Defensa y Fuerzas Armadas (see all documents named Informe Uruguay from No. 203 period 23/07/05 to No. 212, period 24/09/05 to 30/09/05, Montevideo, Uruguay), www.observatorioconosur.com.ar (accessed October 3, 2005).

⁴¹¹ Juan Rial, "La Relevancia de las Misiones...", 7.

⁴¹² Ibid.

⁴¹³ Ibid. 10.

Now is a good time to separate issues in Uruguay; the internal problem of the disappeared people must be separated from future external engagements, particularly in Chapter VII peacekeeping operations. If that is possible, the current leftist government will consolidate its power and leftist governments may rule Uruguay for quite some time. Thus, the left should be first interested in defining peacekeeping as a major military role and then dedicate the always exiguous budget to its social programs, such as education, health, housing, jobs and what the government called an “emergency plan,” which is still far from being satisfactory. Doing so would make it possible for the government to exert Huntington’s “objective control,”⁴¹⁴ which, without having been stated in those terms, has been one of the main banners of the leftist political discourse on national defense and armed forces.

D. SUMMARY

Uruguay has become accustomed to participating in Chapter VI peacekeeping operations because they fulfill the traditional principles of Uruguayan foreign policy, such as preventive diplomacy, peaceful resolution of conflicts, non-intervention and self-determination. However, Chapter VI peacekeeping missions have become scarce. The world has changed and the rise of internal conflicts and state collapse created harder conditions for implementing peace agreements within the borders of a collapsed country. Boutros Ghali’s *An Agenda for Peace* and the *Brahimi Report* foresaw the current peacekeeping trend; the former by arguing that consent might not be strictly necessary and the latter by arguing that robust peacekeeping forces would be needed to fulfill the UN mandate. Recently, the responsibility to protect approach paved the way for justifying humanitarian intervention when risk of ethnic cleansing, mass killings or genocide exists. A disimpassioned interpretation of those UN documents would allow Uruguay to commit troops to UN Chapter VII peacekeeping operations without violating either its traditional foreign policy principles of preventive diplomacy and peaceful resolution of conflicts or the leftist ideals of multilateralism and international solidarity. The responsibility to protect approach relies on the sovereignty of the state, so it does not

⁴¹⁴ Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State, the Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations* (Cambridge and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Twentieth Printing, 2003), 83-85.

undermine the principle of non-intervention. Only in cases of extreme humanitarian atrocities (when the sovereign state is not able or willing to protect its own people) may military intervention be justified by the international community.

Future peacekeeping operations will likely be set up under Chapter VII, allowing the Uruguayan military to participate will make it possible for servicemen to train in realistic environments. This will allow the Uruguayan peacekeepers to gain improved skills, knowledge and experience, which they can impart to recruits when they return to their units of origin. In addition, by not stopping their commitment to peacekeeping, which means participating in Chapter VII operations, the Armed Forces can upgrade their military gear. This is especially important in light of current budget cuts. Moreover and most important, military personnel would improve their economic situation, satisfying essential needs such as housing. In addition, the “UN money” paid to those personnel will mostly be spent in the domestic economy, contributing to economic revitalization.

Finally, broadening military participation in peacekeeping operations, including Chapter VII missions, will have positive effects on the image of the country in the international arena. This has already been tested in the biggest and most important commitment (DRC) Uruguay has experienced since it began participating in peacekeeping. In the case of Haiti, Uruguay is committed with regional partners. However, rigid abidance by traditional foreign policy principles has impeded the military from achieving better command positions. Less committed countries have filled those positions.

Good domestic civil-military relations in Uruguay depend on several important issues. First and foremost, the government’s promised debate on national defense must take place. By doing so, the goal should be to let the military become more professional, which is one of the “demands” the military has been making in the recent past and is consistent with the postmodern world. To a great extent, that professionalism means continued participation in future peacekeeping operations, which again, will mostly be held under Chapter VII. Second, the leftist government should arrive at a strategy for resolving the issue of the disappeared people once the excavations are completed. Separating this domestic argument from the externally oriented commitments to Chapter

VII peacekeeping will be the path towards crafting objective civilian control of the military. The left made moves in this direction when it recently approved Uruguayan Navy participation in the 2005 UNITAS operation. Taking similar steps in regard to Chapter VII peacekeeping will allow the military to enjoy the benefits of participation, while the leftist government will be able to fulfill its social promises on education, health, housing, job opportunities and the serious implementation of the “emergency plan.” Both strategies, the social (education, health, etc.), which is civilian in character, and the military (Chapter VII peacekeeping), which is essentially professional, will allow the left to fulfill their electoral political platform while keeping the military controlled and busy with their professional affairs. In the end, the Armed Forces would also be collaborating with the government by projecting the country’s foreign policy, the traditional Uruguayan solidarity and by improving Uruguay’s leverage at international and regional levels.

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V: CONCLUSIONS

Uruguay deserves to have a debate on its national defense. This debate must be undertaken with greater serenity and over a longer period of time that we have dedicated to it so far.

Senator Eleuterio Fernández Huidobro (Tupamaro Leader, former guerrilla fighter and current Chairman of the Defense Committee of the Senate)⁴¹⁵

The possibility of using force in peacekeeping is what has most worried the Uruguayan authorities. Using force was considered a violation of the Uruguayan foreign policy principles of preventive diplomacy, peaceful resolution of conflicts, non-intervention and self-determination. This concern has increased as UN peacekeeping operations have become more coercive, as suggested in the *Brahimi Report* in 2000. In this regard, having considered the new UN approach and the Army's willingness to be deployed, the Uruguayan government sent troops to missions where limited use of force was authorized. The UN has lately established its most important peacekeeping missions under Chapter VII. This means that peacekeeping units are authorized to use force to fulfill the UN mandate. This issue resulted in the loss of domestic consensus on peacekeeping, especially between the historical political parties, which governed the country since its independence, and the left, in power since March 2005. This discussion becomes more important insofar as Uruguay has increased its participation in peacekeeping. At present, a significant number of Uruguayan troops are committed to the UN Chapter VII missions in the DRC and Haiti. It is likely that future peacekeeping operations will be established primarily under Chapter VII. Based on that assessment and on the political discussion that is taking place in Uruguay, this thesis addressed the following question: **should the Uruguayan Armed Forces be committed to UN Chapter VII peacekeeping operations?**

⁴¹⁵ Diario *La República*, November 17, 2005. Translation is mine.

The research was conducted following the levels of analysis framework. In so doing, the international, regional and domestic/bureaucratic levels were studied. Chapter II addressed the international level to identify **what made the Uruguayan military change its role throughout time up to its current peacekeeping role**. The objective was to disaggregate the causal variables that explain the different roles the Uruguayan Armed Forces have performed and their effects on the other two levels. The analysis was divided into three time periods; the Cold War, post-Cold War and post-September 11, 2001. Each period was characterized by a main event. In corresponding order, the events analyzed were the Bipolarity, the New World Order and the War on Terror. It was possible to see how the military has carried out disparate missions according to the main event of each period. From the “classic” territorial defense to fighting violent, domestic leftist groups. From hemispheric defense to traditional Chapter VI peacekeeping, such as the cases of the Sinai Peninsula, Cambodia, Angola and Mozambique. Then, from Chapter VI missions to sort of “limited” Chapter VII missions (known as “Chapter Six and a Half”) in the cases of the DRC and Haiti. Finally, from these current commitments to the current political discussion on whether or not to commit Uruguayan troops in the foreseeable future to Chapter VII missions. This analysis served as the basis for better understanding why the Uruguayan governments used the armed forces to improve the image of the country in the international arena. The study also described how the military adopted its current peacekeeping role as a means to improve its domestic image, its training and re-equipment and the well-being of its personnel. These factors explain why the military looks forward to continued participation, even in Chapter VII operations.

Chapter III addressed the regional level. The research assessed the current situation in the Southern Cone of Latin America. Ideological affinity among the Southern Cone countries caused the leftist government in Uruguay to include defense and security issues in the regional agenda, with the possibility of achieving a consensus on peacekeeping. The objective of the analysis was to identify to what extent ideological affinity in the region would make a peacekeeping partnership possible. Such knowledge would help determine whether a regional partnership would trump rooted nationalism, which traditionally has undermined the integration process. Thus, at the regional level the

question was whether **the rise of leftist regimes in the Southern Cone of Latin America creates conditions for a peacekeeping partnership.** The research demonstrated that despite economic integration in the region, each country was trying to increase its leverage in the international arena independently. Therefore, the military in the Southern Cone of Latin America still waits for politicians to lead the process of military integration, as democracy mandates.

An assessment of each of the Southern Cone countries was required in light of each country's foreign and defense policies, approach to peacekeeping and position on other regional security issues.

The study showed that Argentina recognizes the importance of recovering its influence in the region. It considers itself the most experienced South American country in security issues due to its involvement in the Malvinas/Falklands War (1982), the First Gulf War (1990-1991), the U.S. intervention in Haiti (1994) and its past (1992) and current involvement in the Balkans. Argentina acknowledges how important its strength is for inserting the region into the international arena. Argentina consistently expresses its commitment to democracy, regional integration and preservation of peace and international security as state policy. In this regard, Argentina abides by the concept of cooperative security within the region and its commitment to both Chapter VI and Chapter VII peacekeeping missions. Argentina demonstrates its willingness to improve trust and cooperation in the region by allowing Chilean troops to be part of its task force in Cyprus and by foreseeing the commitment of an Argentine-Chilean joint peacekeeping unit to Haiti in 2006. It seems that Argentina is waiting for a "window of opportunity" to regain the prestige it enjoyed not so long ago.

Concerning Brazil, the research demonstrated that this country is still trying to consolidate its hegemony in South America. Brazil wants regional support for its role as "leader," which arose again under Lula's rule. In this sense, Brazil does not support Chapter VII operations, although it demands a permanent seat on the UN Security Council.

Regarding Chile, the study showed that this country is still considering pending border issues and wants to exert influence in the international arena without constraints. Chile's Socialist government is pursuing the achievement of national objectives as a state policy, above partisan ideologies. For Chile, the defense policy constitutes a tool for the projection of power and support of its diplomacy. In this regard, Chile now participates in Chapter VII operations. Further expectations rest on the eventual deployment of an Argentine-Chilean joint peacekeeping unit to Haiti in 2006. If successful, this effort will contribute to strengthening trust between the two countries.

Finally, the analysis showed that Uruguay still needs to adopt a position concerning regional security issues. The leftist government has not yet provided clear-cut definitions in that regard, although its political advisors harbor distrust and skepticism about participation in peacekeeping, especially when use of force is required. National defense arguments and the peacekeeping approach in Uruguay do not necessarily reflect the military's point of view. Neither do they reflect the current leftist point of view. Uruguay still does not have a state policy on peacekeeping. If the leftist government finally embraces its advisors' recommendations, Uruguay's approach will be closer to Brazil's than to any other country in the region. Both countries have stated their objections to Chapter VII operations and to having extra-regional countries involved in Latin American security issues.

We can therefore state that the Southern Cone of Latin America is not yet prepared for a peacekeeping partnership. Argentina, Brazil and Chile have different approaches regarding peacekeeping and competitive objectives on regional leadership. Regional cooperation seems to be a means to achieve individualistic ends. Brazil is the "natural leader" and is now leading this "race." But Argentina and Chile do not want to be considered "secondary actors." Argentina shows the most "integrationist" approach but is viewed as "risky" by other countries. Chile does not adhere to all policies specified in MERCOSUR, although it still tries to close links with Argentina on peacekeeping. Uruguay fears deviating from its rooted principles. Although political discourse promotes a form of military cooperation, nationalism is still strong enough to undermine a steady integration process. Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay are not yet prepared to deepen

the existing level of commitment. Neither do they seem willing to yield sovereignty to a “regional peacekeeping force” or to give up rooted foreign policy principles in favor of achieving regional standards for peacekeeping. Creating a peacekeeping partnership is a political decision that Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay should make insofar as the four countries are now sharing a peacekeeping mission in Haiti. The ideological convergence in the region constitutes a basis for establishing a dialogue on this issue.

The regional level of analysis demonstrated that Uruguay is the only country in the Southern Cone that is not competing for regional leadership; likewise, its leftist government is the one which has to work the most in designing a peacekeeping policy. When the left took over the government in March 2005, a debate on this issue was posed, but is still pending. As a result, Chapter IV focused on the domestic/bureaucratic level and addressed the main question of this thesis: **should the Uruguayan Armed Forces be committed to UN Chapter VII peacekeeping operations?**

In previous chapters the research showed that Uruguay has traditionally committed troops to Chapter VI peacekeeping operations because they fulfill the traditional principles of Uruguayan foreign policy, such as preventive diplomacy, peaceful resolution of conflicts, non-intervention and self-determination. However, the rise of internal conflicts and state collapse created harder conditions for implementing peace agreements within the borders of a collapsed country. Boutros Ghali’s *An Agenda for Peace* and the *Brahimi Report* indicate that UN Chapter VI missions have become unlikely; the former argues that consent might not be strictly necessary and the latter argues that robust peacekeeping forces would be needed to fulfill the UN mandate. This assessment made it possible to pose the question: **how consistent are Chapter VII peacekeeping operations with the current political and military situation in Uruguay?** To address this issue in support of the main thesis question, the objective of Chapter IV was to propose a policy for Uruguay’s participation in peacekeeping operations that is consistent with 1) the Uruguayan foreign policy principles of preventive diplomacy and peaceful resolution of conflicts; 2) the current leftist government ideals of multilateralism and international solidarity; 3) the military needs for training, re-

equipment and personnel's welfare; and 4) the need to improve the image of the country in the international arena and domestic civil-military relations.

The analysis demonstrated that a disimpassioned interpretation of *An Agenda for Peace* and the *Brahimi Report* would allow Uruguay to commit troops to UN Chapter VII peacekeeping operations without violating either its traditional foreign policy principles of preventive diplomacy and peaceful resolution of conflicts or the leftist ideals of multilateralism and international solidarity. The problem of designing a Uruguayan peacekeeping policy is how to cope with the rooted principle of non-intervention. This research found that recently, the responsibility to protect approach, identified in August 2000 by an international independent commission appointed by the UN Secretary General, paved the way for justifying humanitarian intervention when risk of ethnic cleansing, mass killings or genocide exists. The responsibility to protect approach establishes that only when the sovereign state is unable or unwilling to protect its own people from humanitarian atrocities may military intervention be justified by the international community. It is a "default" option when the UN Security Council determines that a state has failed in accomplishing one of its essential functions or "raison d'être." Therefore, by relying on the sovereignty of the state, this approach does not undermine the principle of non-intervention.

This thesis has consistently argued that future peacekeeping operations would likely be set up under Chapter VII. The research proved that allowing the Uruguayan military to participate would make it possible for servicemen to train in realistic environments. This would allow the Uruguayan peacekeepers to gain improved skills, knowledge and experience, which they could impart to recruits when they return to their units of origin. In addition, by not stopping their commitment to peacekeeping, which means participating in Chapter VII operations, the armed forces could upgrade their military gear. This is especially important in light of current budget cuts. Moreover and most important, military personnel would improve their economic situation, satisfying essential needs such as housing. In addition, the "UN money" paid to those personnel would mostly be spent in the domestic economy, contributing to economic revitalization.

Chapter IV also argued that broadening military participation in peacekeeping operations, including Chapter VII missions, would have positive effects on the image of the country in the international arena. This has already been tested in the biggest and most important commitment (DRC) Uruguay has experienced since it began participating in peacekeeping. In the case of Haiti, Uruguay is committed with regional partners. However, rigid abidance to traditional foreign policy principles has impeded the military from achieving better command positions. Less committed countries have filled those positions.

Finally, Chapter IV showed that good domestic civil-military relations in Uruguay depend on several important issues. First, the government's promised debate on national defense must take place. In this regard, the Commander in Chief of the Uruguayan Army stated that the government should define goals, objectives, and policies of the military in accordance with the challenges of the postmodern world, which would make the military more professional. To a great extent, that professionalism means continued participation in future peacekeeping operations, which again, will mostly be held under Chapter VII. Second, the leftist government should arrive at a strategy for resolving the issue of the disappeared people once the excavations are completed. Separating this domestic argument from the externally oriented commitments to Chapter VII peacekeeping will be the path towards crafting objective civilian control of the military.

This thesis harbored optimism, by showing that the left moved in this direction when it recently approved Uruguayan Navy participation in the 2005 UNITAS operation. Taking similar steps in regard to Chapter VII peacekeeping will make both the government and the military partners in inserting the country into the real world.

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